



IUSTITIA



POTESTAS

THE  
Life and Raigne  
OF  
KING EDWARD  
*The Sixt.*

With the beginning  
of the Raigne of  
QUEENE  
ELIZABETH.

*both Written by S<sup>r</sup>  
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D.<sup>r</sup> of Lawe.*

*London Printed,  
for Iohn Partridge.*



Iusta Vltia



Iusta Vindicta



*Will: Marshall. sculp.*



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COURTEOUS READER,

**H**is noble Prince,  
whose Story is  
here delivered,  
seemes to have  
had the same aduersity of  
fortune in his life and death,  
which hee had at his birth.  
For as hee was destituted of  
the helps of Nature at his  
entrance, and was faine to  
have his way made into the  
world with a knife; so in his  
life was there continuall im-  
ployment of either Sword  
or Axe: of that, either at  
home against his Rebels, or  
against his enemies abroad;  
of this, upon his Nobles,  
and particularly upon his  
owne Uncles by the mo-  
thers



thers side ; of which the Duke of *Somersets* case is very remarkable. As his birth was violent, and his reigne troublesome, so was his death premature, and not without suspicion of some practice ; of which (besides vulgar rumour) *Cardan* in calculating his scheme, seemes to have some jealous conjecture. For whether he divined it by his art in *Astrology*, or apprehended it by the course and carriage of businesse, hee made a dangerous prediction : when hee fore-saw that the King should shortly dye a violent death, and (as hee reporteth) fled out of the Kingdome for feare of further danger. Howsoever, he was as noble a branch as ever sprung out of



*To the Reader.*

of the Royall stocke, worthy (if so it had seemed good to God) of a more favourable birth, a quieter reigne, and a longer life. But as the notable accidents in his tumultuous times doe deserve to bee recorded; so doth the King himselfe for his sweet condition, for his minde as innocent as his yeeres, for his rare endowments, well deserve to bee commended to everlasting memory; that hee may bee permanent so much the longer in the life of an History, by how much the thread of his naturall life was cut shorter by the Fates. And indeed, as hee had the birth of *Cæsar*, so had he been worthy to have had the fortune and fame of



*To the Reader.*

*Cæsar*; but a better conclusion. This History is left us from the pen of a worthy Author, of whom wee have another essay in *Henry* the fourth. This comes out into the world after the death of the father; a Posthumus, and is not like to finde any Patron, but the love and affection of thee (favourable Reader) to which I commend it, and thee to God.

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A Table

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A Table of the most  
principall matters contain-  
ed in these Histories.

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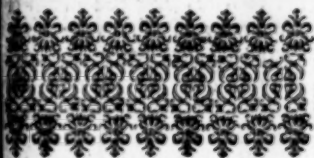
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THE





THE  
LIFE AND  
RAIGNE OF  
K. EDWARD  
THE VI.



EDWARD King of  
*England* the sixth  
of that name of the  
*Norman Race*, was  
borrie at *Hampton*

Court the seventeenth of Octo-  
ber 1537. being the only survi-  
ving sonne of K. *Henry* the eight  
by *Jane* his third wife, daugh-  
ter to Sir *John Seymer* Knight.  
And because K. *Henry* did take  
B her

1537



her to wife, after the death of *Katherine* his first wife, from whom he had beene divorced, no question nor conceit was cast, but that this Issue betweene them had right to succede.

All reports do constantly runne, that he was not by naturall passage delivered into the world, but that his mothers body was opened for his birth, and that shee dyed of the incision the fourth day following. After which sort men brought forth, were by the ancient *Romans* esteemed fortunate; and commonly proved great enterprisers with happy successe. For

Plin. lib. 7.  
cap. 9.

Plin. 16.  
Fest. lib. 3.  
Solin. cap. 4.  
rer. mem.  
Prob. in  
epit. l. 13.  
Valerij.

*Plinie* writeth; *Auspiciantur enim ex matre nascuntur*, for *Scipio Africanus* prior naturall. These were called *Casones*, and afterwards *Cesares*, as *Plinie* *Festus Pompeius*, *Solinus* and *Titius Probus* affirme, *Quia ex matris utero in lucem prodiiissent*.

In this maner was *Casus* the



*bius* borne, whom *Livy* reporteth to have beene trice *Consull*; first with *Lucius Aemilius*, next with *Sp. Furius*, & thirdly with *T. Virginus*. Thus also was *Scipio* borne, who by reason of his brave atchivements in *Africke*, was surnamed *Scipio Africanus prior*. But in that *Plinie* affirmeth, that he was the first who was called *Cesar à casomatrix utero*, he seemeth to have made a slippe. For before him, and somewhat before the warre with the *Samnites*, one *Claudius* was surnamed *Cesar*, because he was in that fashion brought into the world.

In ancient times these births were esteemed sacred to *Apollo*, as *Servius* noteth out of these words in *Virgil*;

*Inde Lycham ferit exelsum;  
cum matre perempta,*

*Et tibi Phæbe sacrum —*

And therefore *Aesculapius*, because he was ripped from his mothers wombe, was feigned to

*Liv. dec. 1.  
lib 2.  
Sil. Ital. lib.  
13.  
Hermo.  
in castig.*

*Plin. loco  
cod.*

*Lib. 10.*



Lib.7.

be the sonne of *Apollo*; as *Servius* upon another place of *Virgil* hath observed. For this cause also in the ancient state of *Rome* things consecrated to *Apollo* were kept by the family of the *Cæsars*. That *Julius Cæsar* was so borne, it is an uncontrolled report: But that he was the first of the family of *Cæsars*, who was so either named or borne it is a thicke mistie error, supported chiefly by some men of excellent judgement in their owne professions, but childishly unskilfull in any thing besides. *Plinie* writeth that his Father was surnamed *Cæsar*; who having borne the office of *Prætor* determined his life by suddaine death.

Lib.7.c.53.

What would have beene either the fortunes or endeavour of *K. EDWARD*, he never attained to yeares of prooffe. Assuredly both for the time of his age and raigne, he is rather to bee admired than commended

whereby



whereby he raised an high expectation for times to enlue. In one point he was like the like-borne *Julius Caesar*. For as *Caesar* in the middest of his greatest actions, wrote an exact and curious Commentary of all his notable enterprises by Armes: So this *Edward* during all the time of his Raigne, but most especially towards the end, kept a most judicious Journal of all the most principall passages of the affaires of his estate. These memorialls written with *K. Edwards* hand (which now shall be the ground of this historie) were imparted unto me by the great *Treasurer of English antiquities*, *Sir Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet, who as he hath beene a most industrious both collector and conserver of choice pieces in that kinde, so is he most ingenuously free to communicate the use of them to others.

This young *Prince* was brought up among nurses, untill he arrived



ved to the age of fixe yeares : when he had passed this weake and soppie age, he was committed to Dr *Coxe*, who after was his Almoner, & M. *John Cheeke*, men of meane birth, but so well esteemed for vertue and learning by reason of the place of their employment, that they might well be said to be borne of themselves. These having equall authority for instruction of the young *Prince*, and well agreeing bare equall stroake in diverse faculties. Doctor *Coxe* for knowledge of *Divinity*, *Philosophy* & gravitie of manners; Mr *Cheeke* for eloquence in the *Latine* and *Greeke* tongues : but for other sufficiencies (so farre as it appears by the bookes which he wrote) Pedantique enough. Others also were appointed to acquaint him with the use of the most respected forraigne languages ; all ioyntly endeavouring to infuse into him knowledge and vertue by some mixture of honest delight.

Under



Under these teachers the Prince thrived so well, that in short time he spake the *French* tongue perfectly. In the *Latine* tongue he could declaime upon the suddaine, no lesse both readily and purely, than many who were reputed amongst the most learned of thole times. He attained not only commendable knowledge, but speech in the *Greeke*, *Spanish* and *Italian* languages, having alwaies great judgement in measuring his words by his matter: his speech being alike both fluent and weightie, such as best beseemed a Prince. As for naturall *Philosophie*, *Logicke*, *Musicke*, *Astronomie*, and other liberall sciences, his perfections were such, that the great *Italian* Philosopher *Cardane*, having tasted him by many conferences, and finding him most strongly to encounter his new devised paradoxes in *Philosophie*, seemed to be astonished betweene admira-



tion and delight, and divulged his abilities to be miraculous. These his acquirements by industrie were exceedingly both enriched and enlarged by many excellent endowments of nature. For in disposition he was milde, gracious and pleasant, of an heavenly wit; in body beautifull, but especially in his eies, which seemed to have a starrie livenesse and lustre in them: generally hee seemed to be, as *Cardane* reported of him, **A MIRACLE OF NATURE.**

When he was a few moneths above nine yeares of his age, great preparation was made either for creating or for declaring him to be *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornewall*, and *Count Palatine of Chester*; in the midst whereof *K. Henry* his Father ended his life of a dropsie, accompanied with a spreading scarre of his thigh. Hereupon *Edward Earle of Hartford*, and *Sir Anthony Browne knight* of the Order,



Order, and *Master* of the horse, were forthwith dispatched by the residue of the Councell, to the young *King* then lying at *Hartford*. These came unto him, and the next day brought him to *Enfield*, neither with preparation nor traine any more than ordinarie. Here they first declared unto him and to the *Lady Elizabeth* his sister, the death of *K. Henry* their father. Upon which tidings they both brake forth into such unforced and unfained passions, as it plainly appeared that good nature did worke in them, beyond all other respects. Never was sorrow more sweetly set forth, their faces seeming rather to beautifie their sorrow, than their sorrow to cloud the beautie of their faces. Their young yeares, their excellent beauties, their lovely and lively enterchange of complaints, in such sort graced their griefe, as the most yroneies at that time present were drawne

B.5.

thereby



thereby into societie of their teares.

The next day following, being the last of *Januarie*, the young king advanced towards *London*; the *Earle of Hartford* riding next before him, & Sir *Anthony Browne* behinde. The same day he was proclaimed *King*, and his lodging was prepared within the *Tower*. He there was received by the *Constable* and *Lieutenant* on horse-backe without the gates, and upon the bridge next the *Ward-gate* by all the chiefe *Lords* of his Councell. These attended him to his chamber of presence, and there sware allegiance unto him.

Here he remained about three weekes, and in the meane time the Councell, appointed unto him by his Fathers will, dayly sate for ordering the affaires of the kingdome. Among these the *Earle of Hartford* was elected, and forthwith proclaimed *Protector* of the *Realme*, and *Gover-*



nour of the *Kings* person untill he should accomplish the age of eightene yeares. To this office he was deemed most fit, for that he was the *Kings* uncle by the Mothers side, very neere unto him in bloud, but yet of no capacitie to succeed; by reason whereof his naturall affection and dutie was lesse easie to be over-carried by Ambition. A few dayes after, the *Lord Protector* knighted the *King* within the Tower, and immediatly the *King* stood up under his cloath of estate, tooke the sword from the *Lord Protector*, and dubbed the *Lord Maior of London* knight. Herehence ensued diverse other advancements in honour: For Sir *Edward Seymer*, *Lord Protector* and *Earle of Hartford*, was created *Duke of Somerset*, The *Lord William Parre Earle of Essex* was proclaimed *Marquis of Northampton*, Sir *Thomas Seymer* the *Kings* uncle was made *Lord of Sudley*.



*Sudley* and high *Admirall* of *England*, *Sir Richard Rich* was made *Lord Rich*, *Sir William Willoughby* *Lord Willoughby* of *Parreham*, & *Sir Edmund Sheffield*, *Lord Sheffield* of *Buterwike*. And because high titles of honour were in that time of the *Kings* minority sparingly granted, because dignity then waited upon desert, which caused it againe to be waited on by respect; every of these testified for others, that it was the pleasure of the *KING*s Father before his death, that these titles should thus be conferred.

During this time the body of *King Henry* was with honourable solemnities conveyed from *London* to *Sheene*, and thence to *Windsor*, and there buried within the Colledge. All his officers brake their staves and threw them into the grave, but at their returne to the Tower, new staves were delivered unto them. This solemnitie being finished,  
the



the King upon the nineteenth of Febr. 1547. rode in great state from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, & the day following was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted with other Bishops, and all the chiefe nobilitie of the Realme, about the twenty ninth yeare of the Empire of Charles the fifth, and the thirty three of the Raigne of Francis the first of France, and in the fifth yeere both of the raigne and age of Marie Queene of Scotland.

The same day a generall pardon was granted to all persons, as it hath beene usuall at coronations. But by some envious oppositions, or for some other causes unknowne, fixe only were excepted: The Duke of Northfolke, Cardinall Poole, Edward Courteney, eldest sonne to the Marquesse of Exceter, Doctor Bates, Master Fortescue and Master Throgmorton. But they survived that envie, & had their pardons



pardons afterwards in the first yeere of the Raigne of *Queene Marie*. A few dayes after, the *Earle of Southampton Lord Chancellor of England*, for being opinative, as it was reported, and obstinately opposite to the rest of the *Lords* in matters of Councell, was removed both from his office of being *Chancellor*, and from his place and authority in Councell, and the great seale was delivered to Sir *William Pawlet Lord St. John*, who was Lord great Master of the *Kings* household. But this wound of disgrace never left bleeding, untill it was stopped by the *Protectors* fall.

It is certaine that from the first entrance of this *King* to his raigne, never was *King*, either more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all. The one whereof proceeded from the goodnesse of his disposition, the other from many graces & vertues illustrious in him: for besides  
his



his excellent beauty and modestie becoming a *Prince*; besides his sweet humanity, the very life of mortall condition; besides a naturall disposition to all literature, whereto he seemed rather borne than instructed, many noble and high vertues sparkled in him, especially *Clemencie, Courage, Care, and knowledge* in affaires of *state*.

To *Clemencie* he was much enclined, especially in matters of blood, and most especially if it were for Religion: a vertue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had beene lesse used before, insomuch that albeit he was most earnestly affected to that religion wherein hee had beene brought up, yet none were executed in his time for other religion, but only two blasphemous *Hereticks, Joane Butcher & George a Dutchman*.

And when *Joane Butcher* was to be burned, all the Councell could



could not procure him to set his hand to the warrant. Wherefore they employed *Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury* to deale privately with him for his subscription. But the *King* remained firme both in reason and resolution, affirming that he would not drive her headlong to the *divell*; but because *Hereticks* for the most part have a straine of madnesse, he thought it best to apply her with some corporall chastisements, which with respit of time might happily reduce her to good order. The *Archbishop* was violent both by perswasions and entreaties; and when with meere importunity he had prevailed, the *King* in subscribing his name said, That he would lay all the charge thereof upon the *Archbishop* before *God*. Not many yeares passed, but this *Archbishop* also felt the smart of the fire; and it may be that by his importunity for blond, hee did offend; for a good thing.



thing is not good, if it be immoderately desired or done.

His courage did appeare in the great delight he tooke in representations of Battailles, Skirmishes, Assaults, and of all kinde of military exercises: his judgement was great either for errors or fine contrivances in the field. And no actions of Armes were executed in his time, but he would perfectly understand, by what advantages on the one side or oversights on the other, the event succeeded. He tooke great pleasure in exercises of activity, whereto he much trained his servants; and to that end he often appointed challenges among them for wrestling, leaping, running, riding, shooting at rovers, and at rounds, and such like games; and at riding and shooting would sometimes be of one of the sides. He had an hundred archers of his ordinary guard, who once mustering before him, shot two arrowes every man



man together against an inch board of well seasoned timber. All stroke through the board, and their arrowes stucke in another board behinde, and divers pierced both the boards: generally none might be of his guard, but (besides of tall and comely stature) such as were either good archers, or wraistlers, or casters of the barre, or leapers, or runners, or of some other man-like qualitie. He was exceeding skilfull in fortifications, and bestowed great cost in strengthening *Calleis, Barwick*, and other parts thereabout. He knew all the principall ports in *England, Scotland, Ireland, France*, and other countries not farre distant, how they lay, when the tyde served, what vessels of burthen they could receive, and what windes served for entrance.

Touching his care and knowledge in affaires of state, nothing was more conspicuous in him.

He



He was much conversant amongst his Councell, and would well understand what matters passed their judgements, and upon what grounds. In matters discoursed by them, he would often encounter their reasons, and adde most lively reasons of his owne. Insomuch that at last they made an order that no matters of weight should be debated unlesse he were present. Admirable he was to collect the speeches and opinions of many, and to draw their differences to a true head, alwaies bending himselfe rather judiciously to resolve, than by doubts and distinctions to perplexe a businesse. He had a chest, wherof he alwaies carryed the key about him, for keeping record of such matters as were concluded by his Councell; And embracing businesse for part of his solace, hee appointed set times with *Doctor Cox* Master of his Requests, for speeding poore



poore mens causes without tedious attendance or delay. Of all the Magistrates, Justices and Gentlemen of sort within his realme, he knew their names, their house-keeping, their religion and manner of life. Hee was skilfull in the exchange beyond the seas, and in all the circumstances and practices thereof: and so was he both skilfull and provident in matters of the Mint at home. To *Embassadors* hee would give answer upon the subdaine, and touch both orderly and fully upon every part of their orations, to the delight & admiration of all the hearers. He much frequented Sermons, and penned notes with his owne hand; his notes hee cyphered with *Greeke* characters, to the end that they who waited on him should not read them. His disports were ingenuous and man-like, whereby he alwaies learned somewhat. And yet as well from these as from his busineses



nesses of state, he daily reserved some houres for his private studies, and exercises with his Teachers. These endeavours fell upon so excellent a capacitie, that in every short distance of time, he made incredible increase both in learning and experience of affaires, and consequently in love of all men.

Presently after that he was settled in his government, Doctor *Wotton* the Kings *Embassador*, resident with the *Queene Dowager* of *Hungarie*, regent of the *Low Countries* under the Emperor, was discharged of that attendance, and addressed to the Emperors Court, there to reside *Embassador* for the King, instead of *Doctor Bonner Bishop* of *London*, and of *Sir Francis Bryan*, who were called home. He was furnished with instructions, that being first informed from the former *Embassadors* as well of the general state of the *Emperours* Court as of such particular intelli-



intelligences as might serve to advance the *Kings* intentions, he should deale with the *Emperor* to declare all *Scots* for his enemies, except such as should be friends to the *Kings*; which should appeare by his safe conduct: That because it had bin agreed betweene the *Emperor* and the late *King of England*, that the yeare next ensuing they should with joynt forces invade the *Territories* of the *French King*, he should move the *Emperor* to advise of some order and forme for those proceedings: That whereas the *Duke of Lorraine* had bin late before at the *Emperors* Court, and made some overture for peace or truce betweene the *Emperour* and the *French King*, he should be informed by Sir *Francis Bryan* of the whole estate of that businesse, and awaite opportunity to put the *Emperor* in remembrance, that it had beene covenanted betweene



tweene him & the *King of England*, that neither of them should treat of peace or truce with the *French K.* or any other comon enemy, without consent of the other; & that the *King of England* had well observed that article in refusing to give eare to the *French Embassador* making overture for such a treatie: That whereas it had beene agreed betweene him and the *King of England*, that either of them should send certaine ships to sea well manned & apparelled for fight, which all that yeare had beene performed by the *King*, whereas the *Emperour* shifted the default upon his officers; in case he should not cause the said *Navie* to be forthwith furnished, he should awaite occasion to sollicite the same. Lastly, that he should carry a nimble eare as well touching any variation in all these matters, as for other occurrences in *France, Spaine, Italie, Almaine*, and thereof advertise the *King*. But



But notwithstanding all these cautions and preventions of peace, or truce betweene the *Emperour* and the *French*, the *King* of *England* finding the *Emperour* slow in his performances, and much suspecting his secret ends, entertained a treatie of peace with *France*, but secretly and a farre off, and to bee governed as occasions should vary, and in regard hereof agreement was made, that all ships and goods which had bin surpris'd at sea by the *English* upon the *French*, or by the *French* upon the *English* since the beginning of that treatie, should be freely discharged. And albeit the *English* had great advantage in value of reprisals, as being alwaies both more strong and active at sea, yet the *King* by his proclamation commanded that forthwith restitution should be made.

Hostility being thus suspended with *France*, preparation was

was



was made for wars against *Scotland*, the occasion whereof did thus arise.

MARY STUART sole daughter and heire to *James* the fifth, King of *Scots*, began her reigne over the realm of *Scotland* upon the eighteenth of December, 1542. being then not above seven dayes old : so as the Sunne no sooner almost saw her an infant than a Queene; and no sooner was shee a Queene, but shee was desired of *Henry* then King of *England*, to bee assured in marriage to Prince *Edward* his only sonne, being then not much above fixe yeeres of age. Upon this overture the Governour of *Scotland* assembled the Nobility of the realme at *Edinburgh*, where after much debatement of the commodities or discommodities like to ensue, they concluded in the end, that in March then next ensuing, a Parliament should bee held to give perfection & forme to that business.

C

In



In the meane time Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight was sent Embassadour from *England* to the Governour & other Lords of *Scotland*, who followed his charge with so good diligence and advice, that in the same Parliament authority was given to *William Earle of Glancorne*, Sir *George Douglass*, Sir *William Hamilton*, Sir *James Lenmouth*, Knights, and to one of the Secretaries of state to conclude this marriage. These Commissioners came into *England* with whom before the end of July the same yeere all covenants were concluded, instruments of the contract of marriage interchangeably sealed and sworn, and a peace established for ten yeeres; which time expired, both the Prince and the Queen should be of age to consent.

The *French* King all this time was so entertained with wars against the Emperour, that he



had no sense of these proceedings; but when he understood that these agreements were passed as well for marriage as for peace, he bent his best endeavour to dissolve them both: First, with intention to impeach both the greatnesse & strength of the *English Nation*; after, with desire to win this marriage for *Francis*, who afterwards was K. of *France*. To this purpose the *French King* sent for *Matthew Earle of Levenaxe*, who then served under his pay in *Italy*, and furnished him with mony, forces, and friends, and above all, with many encouragements, to take upon him bravely the honour of his House and Ancestors, to remove the Earle of *Arraine* from the Regency of *Scotland*, and to reverse such pactions as hee had made. The Earle at his first arrivall in *Scotland* was joyfully received, as a man most engaged in domesticall factions: Hee alwayes used courtesie and modesty dis-



liked of none, sometimes sociableness & fellowship well liked by many: generally he was honoured by his Nation, and well reputed by strangers. In favour of him the *Pope* sent the Patriarch of *Apulia* his Legate into *Scotland*, who in the *Popes* name did faithfully assure, that both forces and mony should be sent into *Scotland* to resist the *English*. Hee drew the greatest of the Clergy on his side, who were most powerfull to draw on others. On the other side, the King was not negligent to support his party with supplies, whereby great troubles ensued in *Scotland*, which fell not within the times that I have in hand.

In the end, the Earle of *Arraine* abandoned the King of *England*, and applyed himselfe only to the *French*, by reason whereof the Regency was confirmed to him, which otherwise he had been upon adventure to lose. And as the Earle of *Ar-*



*raine* did forsake the *English*, and adjoyne to the *French*; so the Earle of *Levenoxe*, being forsaken by the *French*, applyed his service wholly to the *English*, which did not only continue, but much increase the calamities of *Scotland* during the time of King *Henries* reigne.

King *Henry* at the time of his death gave a speciall charge to the Lords of his Councell, that they should omit no endeavours whereby the said marriage might bee procured to take effect. Hereupon they pursued this quarrell in the same state the King left it. But before they attempted any thing by armes, the Lord Protector assailed the *Scottish* Nobility with a friendly letter. Herein he remembered them of the promises, seales, and oathes, which by publike authority had passed for concluding this marriage: that theſe being religious bonds betwixt God and their soules, could not by



any politike act of State be dissolved, untill their Queene should attaine unto yeeres of dissent. He farther added, that the providence of God did then manifestly declare it selfe, in that the male princes of *Scotland* failing, the kingdome was left to a daughter, and in that King *Henry* left only one sonne to succeed: That these two Princes were agreeable both for yeeres and princely qualities to be joyned in marriage, and thereby to knit both Realmes into one: That this union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firme continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable to both the Realmes: That both the easinesse and firmnesse might be conjectured, for that both people are of the same language, of like habit and fashion, of like quality and condition of life, of one climate, not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the world besides.

For



For as these are sure arguments, that both descended from one originall, and had been under one government, so (by reason that likenesse is a great cause of liking and of love,) they would be most forcible meanes both to joyn and to hold them in one body againe: That the profit would rise by extinguishing warres between the two Nations, by reason whereof in former times victories abroad have bin impeached, invasions and seditions occasioned, the confines of both Realmes laid waste, or else made a nursery of rapines, robberies, and murthers, the inner parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched spectacle to all eyes of humanity and pity: That the honour of both Realmes would increase, as well in regard of the countries sufficient to furnish not only the necessities but the moderate pleasures of this life; as also of the people, great in multitude, in bodies able, as-



• fured in minde not only for the safety, but the glory of their common state: That hereby would follow assurance of defence, strength to enterprize, ease in sustaining publike burthens and charge: That herein the *English* desired no preheminence, but offered equality both in liberty and priviledge, and in capacity of offices and employments; and to that end the name of *Britaines* should be assumed indifferent to both Nations: That this would be the accomplishment of their common felicity, in case by their evill either destiny or advice, they suffered not the occasion to be lost.

The authority and reasons of this letter weighed much with persons of most weighty judgements; but others more powerfull in that state, partly upon vaine hope, in regard of the young yeeres of the King, partly upon feare of alteration in religion, and partly in favour  
of



of their ancient amity with the *French*, and doubting to bee brought under by the *English*, were altogether carried another way : yet they dispatched an Embasiadour into *England* ; but neither was any thing done, neither doe I finde what was propounded to have bin done.

Hereupon divers hostilities began to be practised. And first a small ship of the Kings, called the *Pensie*, hovering at sea, was assailed by the *Lyon*, a principall ship of *Scotland*. The fight began farre off and slow ; but when they approached, it grew very furious, wherein the *Pensie* so applied her shot, that therewith the *Lions* ore-loope was broken, her sailes and tacklings torne, & lastly, she was boarded and taken. But as shee was brought for *England*, shee was cast away by tempest and negligence neere *Harewich* haven, and most of her men perished with her. I would not have staid



upon this small adventure, but that it seemed a presage to the succeeding warre, wherein the *English* acquired a glorious victory, but lost the fruit thereof, by reason of their stormy disorders at home.

Many such small actions were enterprised daily, which were but scattering drops in regard of the great tempest which did ensue. For in the meane season an army was prepared for invasion of *Scotland*, under the fortune and command of the Lord Protector. The souldiers first assembled at *New-castle*, and were there mustred by the Earle of *Warwicke*. Here they sojourned three dayes, in which time the Kings Fleet arrived, consisting of sixty five Bottomes, whereof one Galley, and thirty foure rai Ships were well appointed for fight, the residue served for carriage of munition and victuals. Of this Fleet *Edward Lord Clinton* was Admirall, and Sir *William*



*William Woodhouse* his Vice-admirall: in this time also a generall Muster was taken, and order appointed for the march.

In the whole army were between twelve and thirteen thousand foot, thirteen hundred men at Armes, two thousand eight hundred light horse; being such men for their goodly personages, their ready horses, their brave apparrell, their armour and weapons, as never before was an army set forth into those parts in all points better appointed. The Lord Protector being Generall, represented the person and majesty of the King; The Earle of *Warwicke* was Lieutenant generall; The Lord *Gray of Wilton* was Marshall of the field, and Captaine generall of the horsemen; Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the men at Armes and Demilances: Sir *Ralph Sadler* was generall Treasurer: other Gentlemen had their particular charges. But  
upon



upon the Generall and the Earle of *Warwicke* both the hopes and hazzards of the maine adventure did wholly turne. And because much shall be said of these two hereafter (because during the reigne of King *Edward* they were the principall actors in every scene) I will briefly declare both what persons, and of what demerits at that time they were.

*Edward Seymer* Duke of Somerset, Lord Generall, was a man little esteemed either for wisdom, or personage, or courage in armes; but being in favour with King *Henry*, and by him much imployed, was alwayes observed to be both faithfull and fortunate, as well in giving advice, as in managing a charge. About five yeers before, hee being Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*, the invasion of *James* the fifth was by his direction encountred, and broken at *Salome Mosse*, where-



of divers of the *Scottish* Nobility were taken prisoners. The yeere next after, hee and the Earle of *Warwicke*, with a handfull of men to speake of, fired *Lierb* and *Edinburgh*, and returned by a leisurely march forty foure miles through the body of *Scotland*. The yeer next ensuing he invaded the *Scottish* borders, wasted *Tivedale* and the marches, and deformed the country with ruine and spoile. The yeere then next following, being appointed to view the fortifications upon the marches of *Calice*, he not only did that, but with the hardy approach of seven thousand *Englishmen*, raised an army of one and twenty thousand *French*, encamped over the river before *Bulloine*, wonne their ordnance, carriage, treasure, and tents, with the losse only of one man; and returned from thence by land to *Guisnes*, wonne in his way (within shot and rescue of *Arde*) the castle of *Outing*,



*Outing*, commonly called the *red pile*. The yeere next ensuing this he invaded and spoiled *Picardy*, began the forces of *Newhaven*, *Blacknesse*, and *Bullingberge*, and so well applyed his endeavours, that in a few weeks, and before his departure, they were made tenible. Upon these and other like successes his succeeding fortunes were esteemed alwayes rather new than strange, and his only presence was reputed a sufficient surety for an army; and yet did he never rise hereby, either into haughtinesse in himselfe, or contempt of others, but remained courteous and affable, choosung a course least subject to envie, between stiffe stubbornness and filthy flattery, never aspiring higher than to be the second person in state.

*John Dudley* Earle of *Warwicke* was a man of ancient nobility, comely in stature and countenance, but of little gravity



vity or abstinence in pleasures,  
yea sometimes almost dissolute;  
which was not much regarded, if  
in a time when vices began to  
grow into fashion, a great man  
was not over severe. He was of  
a great spirit, and highly aspi-  
ring, not forbearing to make a-  
ny mischief the meanes for at-  
taining his ambitious ends.  
Hereto his good wit and plea-  
sant speeches were altogether  
serviceable, having the art also  
by empty promises and threats  
to draw others to his purpose.  
In matters of armes he was both  
skilfull and industrious, and as  
well in fore-sight as resolution  
present and great. Being made  
Lord Lievtenant of *Bulloine*  
when it was first taken by the  
*English*, the walls sore beaten  
and shaken, and in very truth  
scarce maintainable, he defen-  
ded the place against the *Dol-*  
*phine*, whose army was accoun-  
ted to consist of fifty two thou-  
sand men. And when the *Dol-*  
*phine*



*phine* had entred the base town; not without slaughter of divers of the *English*, by a brave fallly hee cast out the *French* againe; with the losse of above eight hundred of their men, esteemed the best souldiers in *France*. The yeere next ensuing; when the *French* had a great Fleet at sea for invasion of *England*, he was appointed Admirall, and presented battaile to the *French* Navie, which they refused, and returned home with all their threats and cost in vaine. Hereupon he landed five thousand men in *France*, fired *Treport* and divers villages thereabouts, and returned to his ships with the losse only of one man. To say truth, for enterprises by armes hee was the Minion of that time, for as few things he attempted, but he atchieved with honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when hee had done. Generally he alwaies increased both in estimation with



with the King, and authority among the Nobility; doubtfull whether by fatall destiny to the state, or whether by his vertues, or at least by his appearances of vertues.

Now the Generall in this Voyage was as diligent and carefull to perfect all practices which might serve to advance the adventure, as to give good contentment to all the souldiers. These also were of good confidence and cheere, as well out of their owne courage, as for the skill, valour, and fortune of their commanders. And first, every souldier was commanded to take with him provision for foure dayes, and so were let out of *Barwicke*, and encamped about two flight shootes off the towne upon the sea side towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Clinton* also put to sea with his Fleet, alwaies holding his course with the army, to relieve them if need should require. Here proclamation



tion was made in three parts of the field, declaring the causes of this journey, and offering not only peace, but love and rewards to all such as would either advance or favour the marriage between the two Princes. Hereof it was conceived that the *Scots* had good intelligence, having some factors doubtlesse at this mart, albeit (as wisdomewas) they did not openly trade.

The next day they began to march, wherein the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Bryan* led above eight hundred light horsemen as a scout a mile or two before the army, as well to give advertisement of appearance or approach of enemies, as to provide lodging both commodious and safe. Sir *Francis Bryan* was so regardfull of his charge, as hee never disposed any matter of weight, but first he acquainted the Generall therewith; neither did he at any time forsake his saddle, untill the army were quartered,

and



and seated in such order, as if any alarme should bee given, the horsemen might issue forth without disturbance of the foot; and the Avauntguard without shuffling with the Battell or Arriere. Next to the light horsemen followed the Avauntguard, in number between three and foure thousand foot, one hundred men at armes, and sixe hundred light horsemen, led by the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Battaile followed, consisting of about sixe thousand foot, sixe hundred men at armes, and about one thousand light horsemen, conducted by the Lord Generall himselfe. Lastly followed the Arrier, wherein were between three and foure thousand foot, one hundred men at armes, and sixe hundred light horse, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*; a lively aged Gentleman, no lesse settled in experience than in yeeres. Upon one wing the Artillery was drawne, being sixteen



teen peeces, every peece having his guard of Pioners to plaine the waies: the other wing was made by men at armes and demilances for the Avauntguard, and halfe the battaile riding about two flight shoot from their side. The other halfe of the Battaille, and the whole flancke of the Arrier was closed by the carriages, being nine hundred carts, besides waggons. The residue of the men at armes and demilances marched behind.

In this order, both beautifull and firme, they marched two dayes, using no hostility, lest peace thereby might happely be hindred. The second day they arrived at a place called the *Peathes*, a valley stretching towards the sea, fixe miles in length, about twenty score in breadth above, and five score in the bottome, wherein runnes a little river. The bankes are so steep on either side, that the passage is not direct, but by  
parthes



pathes leading slopewise, which being many, the place is thereupon called the *Peathes*. It was given forth in the army, that here the *Scots* prepared to resist them; howbeit no forces appeared: only the pathes were cut in divers places with traverle trenches, which much encumbered the carriages, untill the Pioners had levelled them againe. Assuredly a small power joyned to the advantage of the place might have troubled the *English* very much. For albeit no resistance was made, yet the *English* had much to doe in surmounting the naturall difficulties of the place, the greatest part of one day.

Passage being made, the Generall summoned three castles that were neere. One desperate of succour, and not desirous to dispute the difference, presently yeelded; but two stood upon their adventure. So the Cannon was planted, a breach made, and the



the place entered; but then the moderation of the Generall was both unusuall and unexpected in sparing the Defendants lives for it hath bin a long observed law of the field, *That if a small company of better courage than judgement, will contrary to all military discipline maintaine a feeble place against royall forces; if they will offer to impeach the purposes of an army, which they have no reason to think themselves able to resist, after battery presented they put themselves out of all ordinary expectation of mercy.* And *Cesar answered the Adviciat Civitatem conservaturum, priusquam aries murum attigisset se dedissent.* And so the Duke d'Alva much blamed *Prosper Colamnius* for receiving a castle upon conditions after he had beaten it with the Cannon. And in this case I conceive the Law of God to be understood which spareth not those cities

Cass.

Gallic.  
Concl. 6.

Deut. 20.



that will not yeeld untill they be besieged, meaning doubtlesse when the Defendants have little reason to think themselves able, to make defence. I will not involve in silence with what a soudaine stratagem of wit the Defendants of one of these Peeces escaped extremities, when they understood both that they were not able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon. They made petition that they might not presently be slaine, but have some time to recommend their soules to God, and afterwards be hanged: this respite being first obtained, their pardon did more easily ensue.

Upon the first newes of the approaches of the *English*, and all truths enlarged by report, the Governour of *Scotland* was somewhat appalled, as neither furnished at that time with foraine aide, nor much trusting his forces at home: yet resuming  
his



his accustomed courage, well acquainted with both fortunes, he sent his Heralds through all parts of the Realme, and commanded the *Fire-crosse* to be carried (an ancient custome in cases of importance) namely, two fire-brands set in fashion of a crosse, and pitched upon the point of a speare; therewith proclamation to be made, that all men above sixteen yeers of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Muscleborough*, with convenient provision of victuals with them.

Hereupon they flocked to the place in so great multitude, that it was thought fit not only to stay further resort, but making choice of the most serviceable, to discharge divers of the rest.

Now as the *English* directed their way towards the place where they understood the *Scots* assembled, they came to a river called *Lynne*, crossed with a bridge



a bridge of stone. The horsemen and carriages passed through the water, the footmen over the bridge; which because it was narrow, the army was long in getting over. The Avantguard marched forth, and the Battaile followed; but as the Arrier was passing over, a very thicke mist did arise. The Earle of *Warwicke* having before espyed certaine plumps of *Scottish* horsemen ranging the field, returned towards the Arrier, to prevent such danger as the thicknesse of the mist, the neernesse of the enemy, and the dis-array (occasioned by the narrownesse of the bridge) might cast upon them. The *Scots* conjecturing (as it was) that some personage of honour stayed to have a view of the Arrier, called to the *English* to know if any Noble man were there, for that one whom they named (well knowne to bee of honourable condition) would present himselfe to the Generall,



in case hee might safely be conducted. Certaine young souldiers, not used to such traines, made rash and sodaine answer, that the Earle of *Warwicke* was neere, under whose protection he might be assured. Hereupon they passed the water, placed two hundred of their prickers behind a hillocke, and with forty more cast about to finde the Earle. Now the Earle espying fixe or seven of them scattered neere the army, and taking them to be of the *English*, sent one to command them to their Arrare, and to that end himselfe rode an easie pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on horsebacke. He that had bin sent before was so heedlesse, either to observe, or to advertise what they were, that the Earle did not discover them to be enemies, untill he was in the midst among them.

Certainly a Commander should not carelessly cast him



selfe into danger ; but when either upon necessity or mis-adventure hee falleth into it, it much advanceth both his reputation and enterprife, if bravely hee behave himselfe. Now the Earle espying where hee was, gave so rude a charge upon a Captaine of the *Scots* named *Dandy Care*, that he forced him to turne, and chased him above twelve score at the lances point. Herewith the residue retired deceitfully towards the place of their Ambush, from whence issued about sixty more. Then the Earle gathered his small company about him, and with good countenance maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, whether perceiving some succours advancing from the army where the Alarme was then taken, or whether intending to draw the *English* further into their Ambush, turned away an easie pace. The Earle forbad his men from following, fearing a



greater Ambush behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his returne hee was received with great applause by the *Engliffe* souldiers, for that he did so well acquit himselfe in the danger, whereinto by errour, and not by rashnesse, hee had bin carried. One of his men was slaine, another hurt in the buttocke, a third, named *Vane*, so grievously hewen, that many thousands have dyed of lesse than halfe his hurts, whereof notwithstanding he was cured afterwards. Of the *Scots*, three were taken prisoners, and presented to the Generall by the Earle, of whom one had received many great entertainments and courtesies in *England*.

I may happely bee thought tedious in setting downe these occurrences, which may seeme small. But besides that in actions of armes small matters are many times of very great moment, especially when they serve



to raise an opinion of Commanders: I intend to describe this Battell fully, not to derogate thereby any thing from the one Nation, or to arrogate to the other. For what honour riseth upon event of a Battell, when oftentimes the smallest accident overthroweth a side; and when victory doth more often fall by error of the vanquished, than by valour of the victorious? But my purpose is to make it appear what miseries both Nations have avoided, and what quietnesse and security they have attained by their peaceable union; when as either of them being able to bring such forces into the field for their mutuall ruine, they may now doe the like for their common either glory or necessity. Againe, this Battell being partially described heretofore by the Writers of either Nation, and not without uncivill termes, I will now set it forth so indifferently and fairely as I



can. Lastly, this Battell is not sleightly to be slipped over, being the last (wherin I pray that I may prophesie truly) that was or ever shall be strooke betweene the two Nations. But I returne to my purpose.

Now the *Scottish* horsemen began to hover much upon the *English* army, and to come pricking about them sometimes within the length of their staves, using some liberty of language to draw the *English* from their strength. But the Generall of the *English*, knowing right well that the *Scots* were expert in tumultuous fights, restrained his horse from falling forth, and maintained a close march, untill they came to *Salt Preston* by the Frith. Here they encamped within view of the *Scottish* army, little more than two miles distant from them. About a mile from the *English* another way, the *Scottish* horsemen were very busie upon a hill, and embolde-



ned much, partly upon their former approaches, and partly by the neernesse of their army, but chiefly upon an opinion which they conceived that the *English* horsemen were young and unskillfull, and easie to bee dealt with; came upon the *English* with increased troupes, to the number of one thousand two hundred, besides five hundred foot, which lay in ambush behind the hill. The Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Bryan* impatient of braveries, obtained leave of the Generall a little to assay them; and so as they came scattered upon the spurre within a stones cast of the *English*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray*, with some troupes of light horsemen, charged them home. These were forthwith seconded by certaine numbers of Demilances, & both backed with about a thousand men at armes. The *Scots* meant not to depart before they had

D. 4.      done.



done their errand : wherefore turning their faces boldly, they maintained the fight three houres and more. In the end, overlayed with numbers, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their campe. In this fight the chiefeft force of the *Scottish* horsemen was defeated, to their great disadvantage afterwards. The Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horse lost his life : his sonne and heire with two Priests and sixe Gentlemen were taken prisoners, and about one thousand and three hundred slaine. Of the *English* one *Spanish* hackbutter was hurt; and three Captaines of the light horse, by unadvised pursuit, were taken prisoners.

The day next following, the Lord Generall and the Earle of *Warwicke* rode towards the place where the *Scottish* army lay, to view the manner of their encamping. As they were returned, an Herald and a Trum-  
pete



peter from the Scots overtooke them, and having obtained audience, the Herald began, *That he was sent from the Lord Governour of Scotland, partly to enquire of prisoners, but chiefly to make offer, that because hee was desirous to avoid not onely profusion, but the least effusion of Christian bloud; and for that the English had not done any un-manlike outrage or spoile, he was content they might returne, and should have his safe conduct for their peaceable passage.*

Then the Trumpeter, *That the Lord Huntley his Master sent message by him, that as well for brieve expedition, as to spare expence of Christian bloud, hee would fight upon the whole quarrell, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten; or more particularly by single combat between the L. Generall & himselfe: which in regard the Scots had advantage both for number and freshnesse of men; in*

D 5 regard



regard also, that for supply both for provision and succours they were at home, hee esteemed an honourable and charitable offer.

To the Herald the Lord Generall answered, That as his comming was not with purpose or desire to endamage their Realme, as hee was there, hee would neither intreat nor accept of him leave to depart, but would measure his marches in advancing or retiring, as his owne judgement, guided by advice of his Councell, should deem expedient.

To the Trumpeter he returned answer, That the Lord Huntley his Master was a young Gentleman full of free courage, but more desirous of glory than judicious, as it seemed, how to win it: That for number of Combattants, it was not in his power to conclude a bargaine, but was to imploy all the forces put under his charge to the best advantage that he could: That in case  
shu



this were a particular quarrell  
betweene the Governour and  
him, he would not refuse a par-  
ticular combate; but being a  
difference between the two king-  
domes, it was neither fit, nor in  
his power, either to undertake  
the adventure upon his owne  
fortune, or bearing a publike  
charge, to hazzard himselfe a-  
gainst a man of private condi-  
tion.

Then the Earle of Warwick  
said; I marvaile, Trumpeter,  
that thy Master would make  
his challenge so fond, as hee  
might well know it could not be  
accepted. For tell mee, Trumpe-  
ter, can he thinke it fit, that he,  
to whose charge is committed  
the command of all this Army  
abroad, and at home the Kings  
person, and protection of all his  
Realmes, should undertake a  
combate with a particular man?  
But he might have found others  
his equals amongst us, by whom  
hee might have been assured  
that



that he should be answered. And (therewith turning his speech to the Lord Generall) Under your Graces favour, I accept the challenge: And bring me word, Trumpeter, that thy Master will performe with mee as thou hast said, and thou shalt have an hundred crownes for thy travell.

Nay, answered the Lord Generall, you have a great charge in the Army; which upon a private mans challenge you must not abandon. But, Herald, tell the Lord Governour and the Lord Huntley, that wee have entred your country with a sober company (for so the Scots terme a thing that is mean) your Army is both great and fresh; but let them appeare upon indifferent ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring mee word, Herald, that they will so doe, and I will reward thee with a thousand crownes.

This



This Earle of *Huntley* was a man young, bold, aduenterous, of very good resolution and skill in Armes ; but this challenge was so far beyond the point both of discretion and honour , that the *English* that knew his noble spirit, did beleeeve that his name was therein abused ; which hee manifested to bee true , by disauowing it openly afterwards. For it is not fit that a man should abandon his publike charge , to undertake both the office and danger of a private souldier. And therefore the like challenge of *Tullus* was refused by the Commander of the *Albanes*, for that the contention was not between their persons, but between the Cities of *Alba* and *Rome*. So *Sertorius* was refused by *Metellus*, *Antonius* by *Augustus*, and *John* Emperour of *Constantinople* by a King of *Scythia*. So *Antonius* *Caracalla*, by reason of his often challenges, was esteemed not to be  
so



so valiant as vaine. And here-upon the histories of our times forbeare not to blame *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, and *Francis* the first, King of *France*, for that they often adventured rather as Souldiers, than as Commanders.

But doubtlesse, the Lord Governour made a most honourable offer; and the rather, for that it was conceived by the *English*, that he held himselfe no lesse assured of victory, than he was of his owne resolution to fight; whereto, it seemed, that hee wanted not good reason, chiefly upon confidence of his owne forces, and partly upon expectation of twelve Gallies and fifty Ships well appointed, out of *France*, to assaile the *English* at their backes. All the chiefe Captaines yeelded to the same advice of giving battell, as out of their owne judgements, because they saw it agreeable to that  
which



which the Lord Governour had determined. To these the residue attributed so much, that albeit divers were of a different opinion; yet they chose rather to condemne their owne understanding, than to question theirs.

During this enter-parlance, the *Scots* discharged foure great shots against the *English* camp, without harme, as it happened, but not without breach of the lawes of the field, whereby not only publike messengers are privileged to passe without either danger or scorne, but untill they have discharged their message, all hostility should surcease. Howsoever this happened, the Generall of the *English* army, unwilling to bee behind in any equall or honourable offer, sent letters to the Lord Governour of *Scotland*, wherein hee desired him and the residue of the *Scottish* Nobility to consider, *That both armies consisted of Christi-*  
*ans,*



ans, to whom nothing should bee more deare than peace, nothing more detestable than effusion of humane bloud: That the cause of this warre did not proceed from ambition, avarice or hate, but from desire of perpetuall peace between their people and nations; which could no way so firmly bee knit, as by knitting their Princes together in marriage: That many other respects, set aside, their King, for his birth, his yeers, his royall estate, his princely personage, education & qualities, was such a marriage for their Queene, that a more convenient. could not bee found: That in case all the Nobility of Scotland were not of one mind, the English would be content that their Queen should bee brought up amongst them, untill she should be of age to make her own choice: (Provided, that in the meane time shee should not be transported to any forraigne country, or any agreement made  
for



for any other marriage: ) That upon this condition there should be an abstinence of hostility for all that time, and they would in quiet manner withdraw their army, and repaire all dammages which indifferent Commissioners should adjudge.

No answer was hereto returned, but rumours ran freshly among the *Scottish* souldiers, That the intention of the *English* was to take away their *Queene* by force, and under pretence of marriage to reduce the Kingdom under their dominion. And verily it may seeme almost incredible, that all these faire overtures, made by men well esteemed for honest dealing, could take no place; that nothing could move the *Scots* to forsake their distant and heavie helps, and to imbrace friends, both ready and at hand. But besides that, the long continued warres between the *English* and the *Scots* had then raised



raised invincible jealousies and hate, which long continued peace hath since abolished. I doe herein admire the unsearchable working and will of God, by whose inflexible decree the union between the two Realmes did not then take effect, when by the death of King *Edward* it should have been of short continuance (as by the death of *Francis* the second, the union between *France* and *Scotland* did suddenly dissolve) but was reserved, as unto a more peaceable & friendly time, so for a person in whose progeny it hath taken deep and durable root. And so for that time no conditions of peace being regarded, both sides addressed themselves to their adventure.

The places where the two armies lay encamped were divided by the river *Eske*, the bankes whereof were almost so deep as the banks of the *Peaths* mentioned before. The *Scots* lay  
some-



somewhat neere the one side, and the *English* about two miles from the other. The *English* first raised their campe, and began to march towards the river *Eske*, intending to possesse a hill called *Under-Eske*, which commanded the place where their enemies lay. The *Scots* conjecturing so much, cast their Tents flat upon the ground, passed the river, and mounted the Hill before the *English* could come neere. Hereupon the *English* turned aside to another Hill, called *Pinkenclench*; which afterwards fell much to their advantage, as well for that they were then in place to bee aided by their Ships, which rode neere in *Edenburgh Frith*, as also for that they gained thereby the advantage both of winde and sunne, a great part of the strength of an army; and lastly, for that their enemies were thereby cast into a cruell error.

For no sooner did they espy  
the



the *English* turning from them, but forthwith they were of opinion, that they fled towards their shipping. This surmise was first occasioned, for that the *English* ships removed the day before from *Lieth* to *Muscleborough Frith*, which was conceived to be for taking in their foote and carriages, that the horsemen might with lesse encumbrance and more haste returne backe upon the spurre. Hereupon they had appointed the same night (whole darknesse would have increased the feare) to have given a camifado upon the *English*. But understanding that they were well entrenched, having good escourt abroad, and sure watch within, they brake that purpose; but upon this declining of the *English* from them, the conceit did againe revive, not onely as a thing desired, but because the *English* were inferiour unto them in number, and had travelled



travelled farre, and were well knowne to grow short in their provisions. Yea, when they were discerned to make stand upon the first ascent of *Pinkencloench* hill, the conjecture ran, that their flight was onely deferred, untill they might cover their disorders by the dead darknesse of the night. Marvelous security, and alwaies dangerous, when men will not beleieve any Bees to be in a Hive, untill they have a sharp sense of their stings.

And thus the *Scots*, heaved up into high hope of victory, tooke the *English* for foolish birds fallen into their net, and seeming to feare nothing more than that they should escape, forooke their hill, and marched into the plaine directly towards the *English*. Here the Lord Governour put them in remembrance, how they could never yet bee brought under by the *English*, but were alwaies  
able



able either to beat them backe, or to weary them away. He bade them look upon themselves, and upon their enemies; themselves dreadfull, their enemies gorgeous and barve; on their side men, on the other spoile, in case either through slownesse or cowardise they did not permit them to escape, who (lo now) already have begun their fight.

The whole Army consisted of thirty five or thirty six thousand men; of whom they made three battalions: In the Avaunt-guard, commanded by the Earle of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand were placed; about ten thousand in the battell, over whom was the Lord Governour, and so many in the Arrier, led by the valiant *Gordone* Earle of *Huntley*. Hackbutter they had none, no men at armes, but about two thousand horsemen, prickers, as they are termed, fitter to make excursions, and to chase, than to sustaine any strong



strong charge. The residue were on foot, well furnished with pike and skull, pike, dagger, bucklers made of board, and slicing swords, broad, thinne, and of an excellent temper. Every man had a large kerchief folded twice or thrice about his necke; and many of them had chaines of latten drawne three or foure times along their hoses and doublet sleeves: They had also, to affright the enemies horses, bigge rattles, covered with parchment or paper, and small stones within, put upon staves about three ells long. But doubtlesse, the ratling of shot might have done better service.

The Earle of *Angus* led the Avauntguard with a well measured march; whereupon the Lord Governour commanded him by a messenger to double his pace, thereby to strike some terror unto the enemy. Himselfe followed with the battell a good distance behinde, and after  
came



came the Arrier, well nigh even with the Battell on the left side. The Avauntguard was flanked on the right side with foure or five peeces of Artillery drawne by men, and with foure hundred horsemen prickers on the left. The Battell and Arrier were likewise guarded with Artillery in like sort drawne, and about foure thousand *Irish* Archers brought by the Earle of *Argile*, served as a wing to them both, rightly so termed, as being the first who began the flight.

The Generall of the *English*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* were together when the *Scots* thus abandoned the hill, which they espying, gave thanks to God, holding themselves in good hope of the event. Forthwith they ordered the Artillery, and taking a loving leave, departed to their severall charge, the Generall to the Battell, where the Kings Standard was borne, the Earle to the Avauntguard, both



on foot, protesting that they would live or dye with the souldiers, whom also with bold countenance and speech (which serve souldiers for the best eloquence) they put in mind of the honour their ancestors had acquired, of their owne extreme disgrace and danger, if they fought not well; that the justice of their quarrell should not so much encourage, as enrage them, being to revenge the dishonour done to their King; and to chastise the deceitfull dealings of their enemies; that the multitude of their enemies should nothing dismay them, because they who come to maintain their own breach of faith, besides that the checke of their consciences much breaketh their spirit, have the omnipotent arme of God most furious against them.

Herewith arose a buzzing noise among them, as if it had been the rustling sound of the sea.

E a farre



a farre off, every man addressing himselfe to his office, and encouraging those who were neerest unto them. The Earle ranged his Avauntguard in array upon the side of the hill, expecting untill the enemy should more neerly approach. The Generall, after hee had ordered his Battell, part upon the hill and part upon the plaine, somewhat distant from the Avauntguard on the right side, mounted the hill to the great Artillery, to take a view of both the Armies, and to give directions, as occasions should change. The Arrier stood wide of the Battell upon the same side, but altogether upon the plaine. The Lord *Gray*, Capitaine of the men at armes, was appointed to stand somewhat distant from the Avauntguard on the left side, in such sort as he might take the flanke of the enemy; but was forbidden to charge, untill the foot of the Avauntguard were buckled with  
them



them in front; and untill the Battell should be neere enough for his reliefe.

Now after that the *Scots* were well advanced in the field, marching more than an ordinary pace, the great shot from the *English* Ships, and especially from the Galley, began furiously to scoure among them, whereby the Master of *Grime* and divers others about were torne in peeces; especially the wing of the *Irish* was so grievously either galled or scarred therewith, that (being strangers, and in a manner neutralls) they had neither good heart to goe forward, nor good liking to stand still, nor good assurance to runne away. The Lord *Gray* perceived this amazement, and conceived thereby occasion to bee ripe; whereupon when the enemy was not above two flight shot from the *English* Avauntguard, suddenly and against direction, with his men at armes hee

E 2      charged



charged them on head.

The *Scots* were then in a fallow field, whereinto the *English* could not enter but over a crosse ditch and a slough, in passing wherof many of the *English* horse were plunged, and some mired : When with some difficulty and much disorder they had passed this ditch, the ridges of the fallow field lay traverse, so as the *English* must crosse them in presenting the charge. Two other disadvantages they had, the enemies pikes were longer than their staves, & their horses were naked without any barbs. For albeit many brought barbs out of *England*, yet because they expected not in the morning to fight that day, few regarded to put them on.

The *Scots*, confident both in their number, order, and good appointment, did not onely abide the *English*, but with some biting termes provoked them to charge. They closed, and in a manner



manner locked themselves together shoulder to shoulder, so neere as possibly they could; their pikes they strained in both hands, and therewith their buckler in their left, the one end of the pike against the right foot, the other breast high against the enemy. The fore-ranke stooped so low as they seemed to kneele; the second ranke, close at their backes, crossed their pikes over their shoulders, and so did the third, and the rest in their order, so as they appeared like the thorny skinne of a Hedghogge, and it might bee thought impossible to breake them. Notwithstanding the charge was given with so well governed fury, that the left corner of the *Scots* Battalion was enforced to give in. But the *Scots* did so bravely recover and acquit themselves, that divers of the *English* horsemen were overthrowne, and the residue so disordered, as they could



not conveniently fight or flye, and not only iustled and bare downe one another, but in their confused tumbling backe, brake a part. of the Avauntguard on foot. In this encounter twenty fixe of the *English* were slaine, most part Gentlemen of the best esteem. Divers others lost their horses, and carried away markes that they had bin there. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously hurt with a pike in the mouth, which stricke two inches into his necke. The Lord *Edward Seymour*, sonne to the Lord Generall, lost his horse, and the *English* Standard was almost lost.

Assuredly, albeit encounters between horsemen on the one side, and foot on the other are seldome with the extremity of danger, because as horsemen can hardly breake a Battell on foot, so men on foot cannot possibly chase horsemen : yet hereupon so great was the tumult and feare among the *English*, that  
had



had not the Commanders been men both of approved courage and skill, or happily had the Scots been well furnished with men at armes, the Army had that day been utterly undone. For an Army is commonly like a flocke of foules, when some be- ginto flye all will follo.v. But the Lord Gray, to repaire his error, endeavoured with all industry to vally his horse. The Lord Generall also mounted on horseback, came amongst them, labouring both by his presence and advice to reduce them into order. Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* did memorable service: but especially the Earle of *Warwicke*, who was in greatest danger, declared his resolution and judgement to be most present, in retaining his men both in order and in heart. And having cleared his foot from disturbance by the horsemen, hee sent forth before the front of his Avantguard Sir *Peter Mew-*



cas, Captaine of all the Hackbutter on foot, and Sir *Peter Gamboa*, a Spaniard, Captain of two hundred Hackbutter, *Spanish* and *Italians*, on horse. These brought their men to the slough mentioned before, who discharging lively, almost close to the face of the enemy, did much amaze them, being also disordered by the late pursuit of the *English* horsemen, and by spoiling such as they had overthrowne. At the backes of these the Archers were placed, who before had marched on the right wing of the *Avantguard*, and then sent such showers of shot over the Hackbutter heads, that many bodies of their enemies being but halfe armed, were beaten down, and buried therewith. And besides, the Master of the Artillery did visit them sharply with murdering haile-shot from the peeces mounted towards the top of the hill; also the Artillery.



lery, which flanked the Arrier, executed hotly. Lastly, the Ships were not idle, but especially the Gally did play upon them, and plague them very fore.

The *Scots* being thus applyed with shot, and perceiving the Avauntguard of the *English* to be in good order, neerly to approach, and the men at armes to have recovered their array, turned their Avauntguard somewhat towards the South, to winne, as it was thought, some advantage of ground. By this meanes they fell directly on head on the *English* Battaille: whereupon the Earle of *Warwicke* addressed his men to take the flanke. The Avauntguard of the *Scots* being thus upon, and beset with enemies, began a little to retire towards their great Battaille, either to be in place to be relieved by them, or happely to draw the *English* more separate and apart. The *Irish* Archers espying this,

E 5: and



and surmising the danger to bee greater than it was, suddenly brake up, and committed the safety of their lives to their nimble footmanship. After whose example, all the rest threw away their weapons, and in headlong haste abandoned the field, nor one stroke having been given by the *English* on foot. But then the horsemen, comming furiously forward, had them very cheap.

The flight was made three waies, some running to *Edinburgh*, some along the sandstoward *Lieth*, but the most towards *Dalkeith*, which way, by reason of the marish, the *English* horse were least able to pursue. The chase was given from one of the clocke in the afternoone till almost sixe. It reached five miles in length, and foure in breadth, all which waies the *Scots* scattered in their flight jackes, swords, bucklers, daggers, or whatsoever was either cumbersome, or of weight to impeach



impeach their haste; yea, some cast off their shooes and doublets, and fled in their shirts. Divers other devices were practised, to avoid or deferre the present danger. Some intreated and offered large ransomes, some being pursued only by one, suddenly turned head, and made resistance, by whom many horses were disabled, and some of their horses either slaine or hurt. The Earle of *Angus*, a man of assured both hardinesse and understanding, couched in a furrow, and was passed over for dead, untill a horse was brought for his escape. Two thousand others lying all the day as dead, departed in the night. Divers others plunged into the river *Eske*, and covered themselves under roots and branches of trees. Many so strained themselves in their race, that they fell downe breathlesse and dead, whereby they seemed in running from their deaths to runne unto it.

The



The *English* discerned in their retreit, that the execution had been too cruell, and farre exceeding the bounds of ordinary hostility, which happely was a cause in the secret judgement of God, that they had no better fruit of their victory. The dead bodies lay all the way scattered so thicke, as a man may see sheep grazing in a well stored pasture, most slaine in the head or necke, for that the horsemen could not well touch lower with their swords; and scarce credible it is, how soone they were stripped and laid naked upon the ground. But then againe the eyes of all men were fastned upon them with pity and admiration, to behold so many naked bodies, as for talenesse of stature, whitenesse of skinne, largenesse and due proportion of limbes, could hardly be equalled in any one country. The ground where their severall Battalions first brake, lay  
strewe



strewed with pikes so thicke as  
a floore is usually strewed with  
rushes, whereby the places  
could hardly bee passed over,  
either by horse or by foot: the  
river *Eske* ran red with bloud,  
so as they who perished there-  
in, might almost bee said to  
bee drowned in their fellowes  
bloud.

On the other side, when they  
came to the place where the  
*English* men at armes had been  
defeated, many of their horses  
were found grievously gashed  
or goared to death. The *En-  
glish* who there perished were  
so deeply wounded, especially  
on the head, that not one could  
be discerned by his face. Brave  
*Edward Shelly*, who was the  
first man that charged, was  
knowne only by his beard. *Little  
Preston*, for that both his hands  
were cut off, being knowne to  
have worne bracelets of gold a-  
bout his wrists. Others were  
brought to knowledge by some  
such



such particular markes. Hereby appeareth (as I said before) what blessing is growne to both Nations by their late happy union, when before they were like two rude encountring Rammes, whereof he that escapes best is sure of a blow.

Divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were here slaine, and many Gentlemen both of worth and noble birth; of the inferiour sort about ten thousand, or (as some say) fourteen thousand lost their lives. Of the *English* were slaine fifty one horsemen, and one footman, but a farre greater number hurt. The *Scottish* prisoners, accounted by the Marshalls booke, were about one thousand five hundred; the chiefe whereof were the Earle of *Huntley*, the Lords *Tester Hobly*, and *Hamilton*, the Master of *Sampoole*, and the Lord of *Wimmes*. A Herald was also taken, but discharged forthwith. The execution was much maintained



tained by the *Scots* own swords, scattered in every place. For no sooner had an *English* horseman broke his sword, but forthwith he might take up another. Inso-much that many of them brake three or foure before their returne. So apparent is the hand of God against violation of faith, that it is often chastised by the meanes appointed to defend it.

Of all other, the *English* men were least favourable to the Priests and Monks, by the *Scots* called Kirkmen, who had been equally troublesome in peace, & unprofitable in warre. To whom many, as well *English* as *Scots*, imputed the calamity of that day. These made a band of three or foure thousand (as it was said) but they were not altogether so many; howbeit many Bishops and Abbots were amongst them. From these divers *Scots* feared more harme by victory, than they found among their enemies by their overthrow. After the



the field, a banner was found of white Sarcenet, whereon a woman was painted, her haire about her shoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, on her right hand a Church, and along the banner in faire letters written, *Afflicta Ecclesia ne obliviscaris.* This was supposed to have been the Kirkmens banner; but could this Crucifix have spoken, as one is said to have spoken to Saint *Francis*, and another to Saint *Thomas*, it might happily have told them, That neither religious persons are fit men for armes, nor armes fit meanes either to establish or advance Religion.

I must not forget the fidelity of a *Scottish* souldier towards the Earle of *Huntley*. Hee finding the Earle assaulted by the *English*, and without his helmet, tooke off his own head-peece, and put it on the Earles head. The Earle was therewith taken prisoner, but the souldiers  
for



for want thereof was presently  
strucke down. This Earle was of  
great courage, and for this cause  
much loved of his souldiers, to  
whom he was no lesse loving a-  
gaine. This hee manifested by  
his great care for such *Scottish*  
prisoners as were either wound-  
ded or poore, providing at his  
proper charge cure for the one,  
and reliefe for the other. This  
Earle being asked whilst he was  
prisoner, how hee stood affected  
to the marriage, answered, that  
hee was well affected to favour  
the marriage, but he nothing li-  
ked that kind of wooing.

Certaine of those who esca-  
ped by flight, excused their  
dishonour, not without a sharpe  
jest against some of their Lea-  
ders, affirming that as they had  
followed them into the field, so  
it was good reason they should  
follow them out. Those bitter  
jests the more truth they carry,  
the more biting memory they  
leave behind.

The



The day of this fight being the tenth of December, seemeth to bee a most disastrous day to the *Scots*, not only in regard of this overthrow, but for that upon the same day thirty foure yeeres before, they were in like sort defeated by the *English* at *Flodden* field. The victory raised exceeding joy among the *English*, partly because it came so cheap, and partly by reason of the great danger, and greater terrour that had bin cast upon them by reason of the repulse, and disarray of their men at armes.

Now as seldome one accident, either prosperous or adverse, commeth unaccompanied with the like, so this calamity hapned not to the *Scots* alone. For whilst the *English* army had thus drawne both the preparations and intentions of the *Scotts* wholly upon them, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Earle of *Levenoxe* entred *Scotland* on the west marches with five thousand men,



men, and having marched two miles, they wonne the Church of *Anan*, a strong place and alwaies much annoying the *English*. There they took sixty-two prisoners, fired most part of the spoile, and overthrew the Fort with powder. Passing sixteene miles further, they tooke the castle of *Milke*, which they fortified strongly, and planted a garrison therein; and after much spoile and waste of the country, returned safely into *England*.

These successes did strike such a terrour into many of the *Scots*, that the Earle *Bothwell*, and divers chiefe Gentlemen of *Tivedale* and *Meers*, supposing to find more easie conditions by yeelding than by striving, submitted themselves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Lord Generall into protection. But it is most certaine, that the *English* made not their best improvements of these fortunate events, and that especially



ally by two miserable errors, cunctation in prosecuting, and haste in departure. But doubtlesse, the union of these two Realmes was a worke most proper to Gods omnipotent arme, which afterwards effected the same, as by milder meanes, so in a more durable maner, than they could have bin united by armes. This high appointment of God we must reverence and admire, but not omit to observe the errors committed.

First therefore after the retreat, the *English* lodged the same night in the place where the Battaile had been fought. Where, and in the villages not farre distant, they sojourned five dayes, without doing any thing. In the meane time the *English* searched the rivers and havens, whither the *Scottish* ships were retired, in such sort as they left few ships of warre unspoiled or untaken: the army also gathered the spoile of the field, whereof



whereof thirty thousand jackes  
and swords, and thirty peeces  
of great Artillery were shipped  
for England.

The *English* having thus long  
harassed, and thereby given  
breathing to their enemies, fired  
Lith, tooke Saint Colmes,  
Broughtcragge, Rocksborough,  
Humes castle, Aymouth, Fial  
castle, Dunglasse, Kilnecombe,  
and divers other small peeces,  
whereof part they ruined, part  
they enlarged and fortified, and  
furnished them with able souldi-  
ers, accustomed with often and  
prosperous successe. Herewith,  
as if they had bin weary of their  
warre fortunes; they suddenly  
take off the enterprize, and re-  
turned another way into Eng-  
land, having staid not above five  
and twenty dayes in Scotland,  
and lost under sixty men. The  
pretence of their departure was  
worse than the departure it  
selfe, namely, for that the  
yeere and their provisions were  
faire



farre spent, and the country afforded little forrage. Assured as nature taketh least care of those things which she formeth in haste, so violent and storme-like fortunes, how terrible soever, are seldome durable.

Now the Lord Governour of Scotland, being of great courage and sober judgement, as a man might well see in his face, who he had amply performed his duty both before the battell, and in the field, so especially after the fight he declared himselfe to be of a stout and unbroken spirit. For first hee assembled the perfected forces of the Scottish army, albeit not in sufficient number to give a fresh battell, for reason that much of their army was lost, yet able to keep the English from ranging at large. Then he presented the English with divers offers of treaty, touching matters in difference untill the country was disengaged of them. Lastly, knowing



might well, that counsels are commonly censured by events, and that in matters of armes, altho' the praise of prosperous success is shared amongst many, yet the blame of misadventures is charged upon one; and fearing thereby mutinies amongst his own people, and contempt of others, having first assured the young Queen in place of good confidence, he assembled the Scottish Nobility, and used words to this effect:

I assure my selfe, that many of you my Lords, and more of the vulgar, are much displeased with mee, for that I have advised this warre, whereof so sad events have followed: For this cause I have assembled you together, to reduce you to a better opinion, or to blame you deeply, whether if you remaine offended, or if you cast downe your conference through feare, the betrayall of all succours which reason can afford. For tell mee if you  
are



are discontented with mee for advising this warre, doe you not condemne your selves for following the advice? It is certaine, that at the first you were all of my opinion, and that I did nothing without your approvement. If now upon one misadventure you change your judgement, and charge the fault only upon mee, you doe me wrong, and discover your owne weaknesse, in being unable to endure those things which you knew were casuall, and which you were resolved to endure. But I make no doubt, but the same reasons which induced you to entertaine this warre, will induce you also to prosecute the same, howsoever sodaine and unexpected events dismay your judgements for the present.

Touching my selfe, I was alwaies of opinion, and shall never change, that it is better the Kingdome should bee in good estate, with particular losse to



many of the people, than that all the people should bee well, and the state of the kingdome altogether lost, or dishonourably impaired: even as it is better that a ship should bee preserved with some discommodity to the sailers, than that the sailers being in health the ship should perish: Or, as it is lesse dangerous, when divers parts of a tower are decayed, and the foundation firme, than when the foundation is ruinous, albeit the parts remaine entire. For the common estate is but weakned by calamities of particular persons, but the ruine of the state involveth all in a generall destruction: And therefore they are to be blamed alike, both who move, and who decline war upon particular respects: the common either honour or necessity must be the true measure of both.

But the cause of this warre is no other, than that wee will not incontinently submit our selves



to doe what our neighbours require: That is, because at the first word wee are not forward to thrust our neckes under the girdles of our enemies, yea our old enemies, yea our onely enemies of any accompt for many yeeres, who in their gluttonous hope have devoured our kingdome; who by the bloody execution of their late victories have shewen what courtesie wee may expect at their hands. In doing whereof, wee shall abandon our ancient and approved friends, who as they never failed us in our extremities, so are they now prepared with large aides to relieve us. Who will not feare, or pause at the least, before he leape upon this sodaine change? who will forsake long tryed friends, to relye upon those, who alwaies have been ready by armes to infect us? not at all times upon desire either of revenge or spoile, but to bring us under their ambitious dominion. Which of us



had not rather die this day, than see our enemies in our strongest castles, and yokes of garrisons cast upon our neckes? Who will not preferre a death for liberty, before a life without it?

Their promises are faire and large indeed, I must say, but of what assurance? What assurance can wee have, but that when we have lifted them into the chaire of state, we shall not be compelled to bee their footmen? If our Prince were a man, and should marry an inheretrix of England, wee should happely have no cause to feare; but that he would maintaine the liberty of his native country; but being a woman, and desired in marriage of a King of England, under whose power and custody shee must abide, how shall we be able against his minde, either to benefit or preserve our selves? Verily, as men hate those that affect that honour by ambition, which pertaineth not to them,



so are they much more odious, who either through negligence, or through feare will betray the glory and liberty which they have.

Now, my Lords, if any surmise either that this warre will bee long, or that we shall have the worst in the end, his error is great: for removing whereof I must tell you, that which many of you seeme either little to remember, or never to have knowne. Doe you suppose the state of this Realme (of the valour whereof the enemy hath often found wofull prooffe) to be now so feeble, that it cannot beare off a greater blow than this? it hath often done it, and is able of it selfe to doe it again, if our endeavours be answerable to our meanes. Our Ancestors have sustained many greater dangers, and yet retaining their liberty, have left both it and their honour entire to us. What? are we of lesse heart than they?

for



for of lesse ability wee are not.  
Shall we shew our selves unwor-  
thy of our succession from them?  
Assuredly, it is more shame for  
a man to lose that which hee  
holdeth, than to faile in getting  
that which he never had.

But suppose our forces to be  
neerer driven than they are;  
our ancient allies the French  
are upon the seas, and neere ap-  
proaching for our reliefe. Also  
our friends in Italy, and other  
parts, have sent us mony to sup-  
ply our wants. Wherefore Lords,  
it is meet that wee resume our  
ancient courage, and addresse  
our selves for new preparation,  
not onely upon those hopes both  
from our selves and our friends,  
but in contempt of our enemies.  
For often it hapneth, that a pro-  
sperity unexpected maketh men  
carelesse and remisse, if they be  
not very wise; whereas they who  
have received that wound be-  
come more vigilant & collected,  
especially when they see not only



the cōmon honour & liberty. but their particular both seignories and safeties to bee at the stake.

And albeit the enemy hath done that which it was to be beleevd they would endeavour to doe, in case we would not yeeld unto them; yet, as those things must be endured upon necessity, which happen by the hand of God: so those which come from enemies must bee borne by vertue. And since it is a custome of our country so to doe; sith our people are famous, for being nothing abashed at crosse events, take we heed this vertue faile not in us. If it doth, if we shew our selves heartless & faint, we shall utterly overthrow not only the glory but the memory both of our ancestors and of our state.

As for those who have yeelded to our enemies, let us esteem them as fugitives and traitors, who endeavour to cast themselves & their country into subjection; but let us stand assured, that



that they who least shrink at the stormes of fortune, whether in publike or private affaires, are alwaies most vertuous and victorious in the end.

On the other side, King Edward added to his glory courtesie and liberality; shewing himselfe most gracious in countenance to all, and giving rewards futable to every mans performance or place. The Lord Protector hee rewarded with lands of the yeerly value of five hundred pounds: And certaine it is, that these first fortunes raised unto him a great respect, both in other countries and among his owne people, and the rather, because he was discerned to be much searching, both into the counsels, and after the events of all his affaires, and likewise into the condition and state both of his owne strength, and of the countries neere unto him.

But these prosperous proceedings



dings were not only hindred in their fairest course, but altogether staid, and in some measure turned backe, by reason of the unadvised forwardnesse of divers chiefe Councillers, in making both sodaine and unlesonable alterations in matters of state, whose greedy desires of having their wills in all they liked, bred both trouble to the Realme, and to themselves danger; for great and sodaine changes are never without danger, unlesse the Prince bee both well settled in government, and able to beare out his actions by power. But whilest King *Edward* was both unripe in yeeres, and new in government, to attempt a change both sodaine & great, could not but be accompanied with many mischiefes. The great matters, wherein alteration was wrought, were especially two: Religion and Enclosures.

Now for that Religion is of so high and noble a nature, of so absolute



absolute necessity in a Commonwealth, that it is esteemed the foundation of Lawes, and the common band of humane society, no sodaine alteration can almost be made therein, but many will be induced thereby to attempt some alteration in rule; whence (saith *Dio*) conspiracies and seditions are often occasioned. For Religion being seated in the high throne of conscience, is a most powerfull ruler of the soule, and farre preferred before estimation of life, or any other worldly respect; for this advanceth man to the highest happiness, it leadeth him to his last end: all other things are but instruments, this is the hand; all other things are but accessaries, this is the principall. And therefore as all men are naturally moved by Religion, so when they are violently thrust forward by those, who (as *Livie* speaketh) make it their purpose to possesse soules by superstition,



then doe they breake all bands of reason and of rule, no perswasion of the one, no command of the other can then restraine them: *Multitudo ubi Religione capta est, melius uatibus quam ducibus suis paret. Curt. lib. 4.*

I will not deny but that some change in Religion is often expedient, and sometimes necessary, because more in that, than in any other thing, it is hard to containe men from running into one of these extremes, either of vaine superstition, or of carelesse contempt; but this must be done with a soft and tender hand, and (as Cicero speaketh) *Ut quum minimo sonitu orbis in republicâ convertatur.* Some respect should also have been given to those greenet times, to the monstrous multitude muffled with two great plagues and corruptions of judgement, custome and ignorance; whereto may be added, grieve at their owne wants, and envie at the prosperity



nity of others, especially for that many bold spirits were busied, not only to incense, but to lead them into much variety of mischief. And if it bee said, that King *Henry* the eighth had quietly passed the like change before: I answer, The example was not then to bee followed, the Kings were not equall either in spirit or in power. Even as it is in the fable, that albeit an Eagle did beare away a Lambe in her talents with full flight, yet a Raven endeavouring to doe the like, was held entangled and fettered in the fleece:

Tonching Enclosures, I am not ignorant what a profitable purchase is made thereby, not only to particular persons; but generally to the whole Commonwealth, in case it be without depopulation; because a company of lands inclosed, are thereby improved in worth two or three parts at the least. Hereby two great commodities ensue;



fine, riches and multitude of people; because the more riches are raised out of lands, the more people are thereby maintained. This doth plainly appeare by two Shires, almost equall both in greatnesse and in goodnesse of soile: *Northampton* much champian, and *Somerset* altogether enclosed. For if estimation may be made by musters, and by subsidies, tenths and fifteens, Enclosure hath made the one countie more than double to exceed the other both in people and in wealth.

Notwithstanding the Lord Protector, gaping after the fruitlesse breath of the multitude, and more desirous to please the most than the best, caused a Proclamation to be set forth against Enclosures, commanding that they who had enclosed any lands, accustomed to lye open, should upon a certaine paine, before a day assigned, lay them open againe. This Proclamation,

whilst



whilst few were forward to obey, gave occasion to the mutinous multitude, instable in judgement, and tempestuous when they are stirred, all carried with a headlong rashnesse, and one following another, as wiser than himselfe, immoderately both in desire and hope, to be easily drawne by others, who had deeper reaches than themselves, to matters which at the first they least intended.

And againe, soone after the beginning of the young Kings reigne, certain injunctions were set forth for removing Images out of Churches, which had bin highly not only esteemed, but honoured before, and for abolishing or altering some other ancient observations in the Church. Hereupon Commissioners were dispatched into all parts of the Realme, to see those injunctions to bee executed. With those divers Preachers were sent furnished with instructions,



Injunctions, to perswade the people from praying to Saints, as for the dead, from adoring Images, from use of Beads, Ashes and Processions, from Masse, Dirges, praying in unknowne Languages, and from some other like things, whereunto long custome had wrought a religious observation. And for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed to be publikely read in Churches, aiming to the very same end.

Some other, offering to maintaine these Ceremonies, were either punished or forced to recant: *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of London was committed prisoner to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner* was likewise committed first to the Fleet, afterwards to the Tower, for that he had openly preached, that it were well these changes in Religion should be stayed, untill the King were of yeeres to governe



verne by himselfe. This the people apprehending worle than it was either spoken or meant, a question began to bee raised among them, whether during the Kings minority such alterations might lawfully bee made or no. For the like causes *Tonstall* Bishop of Duresme, and *Heath* Bishop of Rochester, were in like manner committed to prison: All these being then, and still continuing famous for learning and judgement, were dispossessed of their Bishopricks, but no man was touched in life.

Hereupon a Parliament was held in the first yeere of the King, and by prorogation in the second; wherein divers Colleges, Chantries, free Chapels, Fraternities, Guildes, &c. with all their lands and goods, were put into the actuall possession of the King: part of the goods and lands being sold at a low value, enriched many, and enobled some, and thereby made them



them firme in maintaining the change. Also that no man should speake against receiving the Eucharist under both kindes, which had been restrained in times before: and that Bishops should be placed by collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any precedent election or confirmation ensuing: And that all Processees Ecclesiasticall should bee made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the common Law: And that all persons, exercising Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, should have the Kings armes in their seales of office: And further, the Statute of the fixe Articles, and other Statutes concerning punishment of *Lollards*, were repealed; and so was another Statute, restraining the use of Scriptures in the English tongue, and the Kings supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed. Herewith a book was set forth for publike prayers by Proclamation, and for administration



nistration of the Sacraments, and other rights and offices of the Church: And divers punishments were appointed by Proclamation, either for not using the formes prescribed in that booke, or for depraving any thing therein contained.

I forbear to rehearse other Acts in this Parliament, albeit a noble Writer in our time esteems it to be a main in History, that the Acts of Parliament should not be recited; which I conceive so farre to be true, as they occasion tumults or division, or some remarkable alteration in state: otherwise, as I find them not regarded by most imitable Writers, so I account the relation of them both fruitlesse and improper for a true-carried History.

Now in this meane time the Commissioners before mentioned were earnest in executing their authority, and either pulled downe or defaced all Images  
in



in Churches, and that in such unseasonable and unseasoned fashion, as if it had bin done in hostility against them. Here many did expresse a sense of distaste, some for religious respects, others in regard of the excellent artifice of some of their peeces, affirming, that albeit religious reverence might happely have been either taken away or moderated, yet the civill regard which all men doe not only afford but affect, in maintaining the memory of those whom they honour or love, might be endured without offence.

Certainly, albeit the Religion of the Romanes endured an hundred & seventy yeers, according to a law of *Numa Pompilius*, without any Images: Albeit the *Persians* had neither Images, nor Temples, nor Altars, being of opinion that God could be represented by no device; that hee had no Temple but the world.



world, no Altar but the heart of man: Albeit *Eusebius* writeth, that the people of *Asia* called *Seres*, by expresse law forbade adoration of Images: albeit that Images were forbidden of *Lycurgus*, as drawing men from the true worship of that which cannot be seen: Albeit the ancient *Germans*, and from the *Britaines* and the *Gaules*, had neither Images nor Temples: Albeit the *Jewes*, and in imitation of them, the *Saracens* & *Turks*, abhorre nothing more than Images, either in their Temples, or in their Houses; because the Law of God forbiddeth not onely to adore, but to make any Image: Albeit the Christians continued a long time without Images in their Churches; yet were they never entertained into any Religion, but presently they took deep root in the hearts & consciences of the comon people. When *Leo Isauricus*, surnamed *Iconomachus*, assembled a Councell at  
Constan-



*Constantinople*, wherein it was decreed, that Images should be cast out of Churches and burne, the West part of his Empire did thereupon first rebell, and afterwards revolt.

And yet while these proceedings were but in the bud, affaires of state without the Realme were maintained in good condition of honour; but seemed rather to stand at a stay, than either to advance or decline. In *Scotland* the warres were maintained by the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, Lieutenante of the North, with variable successe: he fortified *Haddington*, fired *Dawkeith*, and won the Castle, where foureteen *Scots* were nine, and three hundred taken prisoners; he spoiled much of the country about *Edinburgh*, *Louthum*, and *Meers*, fired *Muscleborough*, and fortified *Lowder*, and tooke *Tester*; at the yeelding whereof he granted life to all except to one, who had used vile



vile speeches against K. Edward. Those speeches were commonly cast upon one *Newton*, but hee charged them upon one *Hamilton*. Hereupon *Hamilton* challenged *Newton* to the combate, which hee did readily accept, and the Lord *Gray* consented to the tryall. To this purpose lists were erected in the Market place at *Haddington*, whereinto at the time appointed both the combatants entered, apparelled only in their doublets and hose, and weaponed with sword, buckler, and dagger. At the first encounter *Hamilton* drave *Newton* almost to the end of the lists, which if he had fully done, he had thereby remained victorious; but *Newton* on the sudden gave him such a gash on the legge, that therewith he fell to the ground, and *Newton* forthwith dispatched him with his dagger. Certaine Gentlemen then present offered to have fought with *Newton* upon the same



same point, but this was adjudged to be against the lawes of combate, wherefore *Newton* was not only acquitted, but rewarded with a chaine of gold, and with the gowne which the Lord *Gray* did then weare: howbeit many were perswaded that he was faulty; and happely neither of them was free. But hee enjoyed neither his escape nor his honour long, for soone after he was hewne in peeces by *Hamiltons* friends.

On the other side the *Scots* came before *Broughticrag* with eight thousand men, and eight peeces of Artillery; but it was for that time well defended by the *English*, who by often sallies enforced their enemies with losse of their Artillery to abandon the attempt. After this divers other enterprises were made upon that Fort; at the last it was taken, where the *Scots* slew all except Sir *John Laster* the Captaine, who was taken prisoner. And



And now *Henry* the second of *France* having newly succeeded *Francis* the first, who dyed the last of March, 1547. sent *Mounsieur Daffie* his Lieutenant into *Scotland* with an army of about ten thousand *French* and *Almaines*, who joyning with the *Scots*, besieged *Haddington*, and that with so good earnest, as sixe peeces of Artillery discharged three hundred and forty shot in one day, and in another two hundred within sixty paces of the wall: They lodged so neere within the very ditches, that the *English* slew divers of them with plummets of lead tyed to a trunchion or staffe by a cord. The place was but weake, and the brackes faire, but the defendants by resolution supplied all the defects, making divers sallies with such lively spirit, that the assailants were thereby discouraged from making assault. The *English* from *Barwicke* with about one thousand



and five hundred horse did often relieve the defendants, by breaking through the midst of their enemies; but at the last they were so strongly both encountered and enclosed between the *French*, *Almaines* and *Scots*, that Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the chiefe Leader, and about foure hundred were taken prisoners, and divers slaine. Hereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was sent with an army of about fifteen thousand men, whereof three thousand were *Almaines*: but upon notice of his approach the *French* raised the field, retired so farre as *Muscleborough*, and there encamped, attributing much honour to the *English* for their valour, in regard of the small strength of the place which they defended. When the Earle had victualled, and re-enforced the towne, he marched forth towards the enemies, and encamped neere unto them: and first a few of the *English* horse approached



proached neere the army of the *French*, who sent forth some troupes of their horse to encounter them; but the *English* retired, untill they had drawne the *French* into an ambush laid for the purpose, and then charging together, they had them cheap: amongst which two Captaines of account were taken prisoners. The next day the Earle presented his army in plaine field before the enemies campe, closed in three bodies, and ranged ready to abide battaile. The *French* had newly received supply of fourteen or fifteene thousand *Scots*, but yet remained within their strength, holding it no wisdome to venture on men resolved to fight, who were forthwith to depart the Realme, and could neither long endanger nor endamage them much. So the Earle, after that he had remained about an houre, and perceiving that the *French* intended not to forsake

G                      their



their strength, returned unto his camp, and afterward to *England*, destroying *Donbarre*, and some other which stood neere his passage. The Army being dissolved, and the *Scots* thought secure, the Lord *Gray* with his horsemen entred *Scotland*, did great waste in *Tsvedale* and *Liddesdale* for the space of twenty miles, and returned without encounter. Also a Navie was appointed to coast along with the army before mentioned. This Fleet comming to *Brent Island*, fired foure ships; then attempting upon *S. Mirces*, were repulsed by the Lord *Dun*, and so without either glory or gaine returned into *England*.

Not long after the departure of the *English* army, *Monsieur Daffie* with his *French* and *Almaines* attempted suddenly to surprise *Haddington*: the enterprise was governed in so secret manner, that the *French* had  
slaue



slaine the *English* escourts, and entred the base court, and approached the maine gates before any alarme was taken; but then the Townesmen came forth many in their shirts, who (with the help of the watch) sustained the assault untill the souldiers in better appointment came to their aide. These issued into the base court through a privie posterne, and sharply visited the assailants with Halberds and Swords. Here the fight grew hot, the darknesse and danger terrifying some, and animating others. Blowes flew at all adventures, wounds and deaths given and taken unexpected, many scarce knowing their enemies from their friends. But shame wrought such life and courage in the *English*, as very few of the enemies who entered the court escaped alive, leaving their fellowes bleeding in their deadly wounds: yet *Monsieur Daffie*, not discouraged here-



with, gave three lively assaults more that morning, but was repelled with so great losse, that sixteen carts and waggons were charged with carrying away their dead and dying bodies, besides three hundred left in the base court.

After divers like adventures, the *English* perceiving that the Towne could not be kept without danger, nor lost without dishonour, the Earle of *Rutland* was sent with three thousand *Almaines*, and as many borderers, to demolish the Towne, and to bring the Artillery away to *Barwicke*. The Earle not onely accomplished his charge, but made wide waste in his passage by ruine and spoile. Herewith the castle of *Hame* was sodainly surprised by the *Scots*, & all the *English* therein either taken or slaine. This was effected by meanes of certaine *Scots*, who used to bring victualls to the *English*, and were reputed their  
assured



assured friends: These both observing the weaknesse of the place, and orders of the garrison, discovered them to their fellowes, and gave entertainment for the surprise; giving also warning to others, never to trust either the courtesies or services of those whom they have provoked to be their enemies.

About these times, Sir *Edward Bellingham* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, first with great diligence and care, then credit and reputation especially gained by that service, tooke *Ocanor* and *Omor*, and reduced the other seditious Lords to good subjection. *Ocanor* and *Omor* guided by over-late counsell of necessity, left their Lordships, and had a yeerly pension of an hundred pounds assigned to either of them.

And now the *French*, supposing that by reason partly of suspension of hostility between *England* and *France*, and partly of



the *English* affaires in other places, matters with them would be neglected, determined to attempt a sodaine surprize of the Fortresse of *Bullingberge*. To this end seven thousand men were appointed under the conduct of *Monsieur Chastilion*, furnished with ladders & other preparations for the surprize. They marched secretly in the dead time of the night, & when they approached within a quarter of a league, one *Carter*, who had been discharged of his pay by the *English*, for taking a *French* woman to wife, and then served under the *French*, ranne privily before, and gave the alarme to those in the Fort. The *English* drew him up the walls between two pikes, and understanding the danger, addrested themselves to their defence, by reason whereof the *French* at their approach had so warme a welcome, every of the *English* contending that his valour might



might be noted for some help in the fight, that at their departure they laded fifteen wagons with their dead. *Carter* himselfe adventured bravely in places of greatest danger, and received two great hurts in his body. Sir *Nicholas Arnault* the Captaine was likewise hurt with a pike in the face: divers others were wounded, and about five and twenty slaine. The assault continued with great obstinacy from midnight untill somewhat after the breake of day.

Shortly after three hundred *English* on foot, and twenty five horsemen were appointed to go to a wood, about two leagues from *Bullingberge*, having cariages with them, for bringing certaine timber for mounting great Artillery, and some other uses. When they approached neere the edge of the wood, about five hundred *French* horsemen issued forth, and gave three sharpe charges upon them: the



*English* empaled themselves with their pikes, and therewith bare off their enemies, and being lined with shot (the cruell plague of horsemen) the *French* were in such sort galled with arrowes, that many were wounded, *Monsieur Cauret*, and divers others slaine, seventy great horse lay dead in the field, and one Cornet was taken. The *English*, fearing greater forces, began to retire, and therewith appeared about two thousand *French* and *Almaines* on foot. But the *English* maintained an orderly retreat, untill they came within favour of the shot of *Bullingberge*, and then the enemy adventured no farther. And in this manner the old wounds of warre began freshly to open and bleed between *England* and *France*.

But in this meane time such tempests of sedition tumbled in *England*, more by default of Governours, than the peoples impatience to live in subjection,  
that



that not only the honour, but the safety of the state was thereby endangered. For as the Commissioners before mentioned passed to divers places for establishing of their new injunctions, many unsavoury scornes were cast upon them; and the further they went from *London*, as the people were more uncivil, so did they more rise into insolency and contempt. At the last, as one Master *Body* a Commissioner was pulling downe Images in *Cornwall*, hee was sodainly stabbed into the body by a Priest with a knife.

Hereupon the people more regarding Commotioners than Commissioners, flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, as clouds cluster against a storm: And albeit justice was afterwards done upon the offenders, the principall being hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and divers of his chiefe complices executed in divers parts of the



Realme. Albeit so ample a pardon was proclaimed for all others within that Shire touching any action or speech tending to treason, yet could not the boldnesse bee beaten downe either with that severity, or with this lenity be abated. For the mischiefes forthwith spread into *Wiltshire* and *Somersetshire*, where the people supposing that a Common-wealth could not stand without Commons, beat downe enclosures, laid parkes and fields champaine. But Sir *William Herbert*, afterwards Earle of *Pembroke*, with a well armed and ordered company, set sharply upon them, and oppressing some of the forwardest of them by death, suppressed all the residue by feare: but their duty depending upon feare, the one was of no greater continuance than the other.

The like motions followed in *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Gloucestershire*, *Warwicke*, *Essex*,  
Hart-



*Hartfordshire, Leicestershire, Worcester-  
shire, and Rutland-  
shire.* But being neither in num-  
bers nor in courage great, partly  
by authority of Gentlemen, and  
partly by entreaty and advice of  
honest persons they were redu-  
ced to some good appeasement,  
as with people more guided by  
rage than by right, yet not alto-  
gether mad, it was not uneasie.  
But herein happely some errour  
was committed, that being only  
brought to a countenance of  
quiet, regard was not had to di-  
stinguish the rebellion fully. For  
soon after they brake forth more  
dangerously than before: for no  
part could content them who  
aimed at all. After this, the peo-  
ple in *Oxfordshire, Devonshire,  
Northfolke and Yorkeeshire*, fell  
into the same madnesse, incen-  
sed by such, who being in them-  
selves base and degenerate, and  
dangerous to the state, had no  
hope but in troublesome times.  
To *Oxfordshire* the Lord Gray  
of



of *Wilton* was sent with a thousand five hundred horse & foot, to whom the Gentlemen of the country resorted, drawing many followers with them. The very name of the Lord *Gray*, being knowne to be a man of great valour and fortune, so terrified the seditious, that upon the very report of his approach, more than halfe fell away, and dispersed: of the residue, who being either more desperate or more sottish, did abide in the field, many were presently slaine, many taken, and forthwith executed. To *Devonshire* was sent *John* Lord *Russel*, Lord of the privie Seale, whose forces being indeed, or being by him distrusted to bee inferiour to the importance of the service, he sate down at *Herrington*, whilst the seditious did almost what they would. Upon this heavinesse of the Kings forces going forward, interpreted to be feare and want of mettle, divers either of the most audaci-

out



ous, or such as poverty or fear of punishment might easily plunge into any mischief, resorted to the seditious daily from *Cornwal* and other parts, as bad humours gather to a bile, or as divers kennels flow into one sinke, so in short time their numbers increased to ten thousand tall and able bodies. They were chiefly guided by *Humphry Arundel*, a man well esteemed for military services. About sixe others of inferiour note were bold actors with him. Many Priests, unworthy to be named, were also impetuous and importunate incensors of the rage, men of some academicall learning in discourse, but their mindes not seasoned with any vertuous or religious thoughts.

Assuredly, the vulgar multitude is not unfitly termed a beast with many heads, not guided, I will not say with any proportion, but portion of reason; violence and obstinacy, like



untamed horses, draw their desire in a blind-fold carrear. They intend most foolishly what they never put in action, and often act most madly what they never intended; all that they know to doe, is that they know not what to doe; all that they meane to determine, proves a determination, and meaning to doe nothing. They attribute more to others judgement than to their owne, esteeming bold obstinacy for bravest courage, and impudent prating for soundest wisdom; and now being assembled into one company, rather without a Lord than at liberty, to accomplish their misery they fall to division, of all calamities the worst, and so broken in their desires, that many could not learne either wherefore they came, or what they would have done. Some were Commonwealth mutiners, and some did mutiny for Religion. They who were for the Commonwealth could



could agree upon no certaine thing, but it was certaine they could agree upon nothing. Some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers, nor ordinary courts of justice, and above all, enclosures must downe; but whether all, or which, or how to bee employed, none could tell, every man regarding what he followed, but not what might follow thereof. All would have the state transformed; but whether reformed or deformed, they neither cared nor knew. They concurred only in confused clamours, every man thinking it no lesse reasonable that his opinion should bee heard, than that his body should be adventured.

The Religious mutiners were not altogether so various in their voices, as having some few spirits among them, by whom they were both stirred and guided. These in the name of the people hammersed up the  
Articles



Articles following, & sent them to the King, upon granting of which they professed, that both their bodies and their goods should bee absolutely at the Kings devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptisme at all times of necessity, as well on weeke dayes, as on holy-dayes.

2. That their children might be confirmed by the Bishop whensoever they should within the Diocesse resort unto him.

3. Forasmuch as they beleeved, that after the words of consecration, no substance of bread remained, but the reall body and blond of Christ; that the Masse should bee celebrated without any man communicating with the Priest, for that many put no difference betwene the Lords body and other meat, some saying, that it is bread before and after; some saying, that it is profitable to none, except he receiue it.

4. That



4. That they might have reservation of the Lords body in their Churches.

5. That they might have holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Christs precious body and blood.

6. That Gods Service might be said or sung with an audible voice in the Quire, and not set forth like a Christmas play.

7. That Priests live chaste (as S. Paul did) without marriage, who said to all honest Priests, Be ye followers of mee.

8. That the sixe Articles set forth by King Henry the eighth, bee so used as they were in his time, at least untill the K. should accomplish his full age.

Now albeit the King knew right well, that no reasons would serve for deniall, and that the yeelding to them in any thing would profit him nothing, but rather make them rise to more insolent demands, yet hee returned an answer in writing,



writing, and therewith his generall pardon, in case they would desist, and open their eyes, to discern how their uncircumspect simplicity had bin abused, especially in matters of Religion: for that as some vertues resemble some vices so neere as the one is often taken for the other; so Religion and Superstition doe so neerly resemble, that it was easie for men to disguise the one under the maske of the other. First therefore hee reproved them fairely for their disorderly assemblies against the peaceable people of the Realme, and against the honour of his estate, fearing much that by reason of their disobedience his lenity should appeare to be lesse than he would have it: Also for that they used his name in all their writings, not only without his authority, but even against himselfe, abusing thereby the weaknesse of many, and drawing them into society of their evil.

Then



Then he pitied their ignorance, and the errours thence arising, whereby they were allured to new hopes by some, who could not thrive so well by their honest endeavours, as by rapine and spoile, who stopped all course of law and discourse of reason, to open the full floud-gate of their unmeasurable madnesse, who to overthrow the state, pretend liberty; but if they should overthrow it, all liberty were lost.

*For (saith he) who hath borne you in band, that children, even in case of necessity, cannot be baptized but upon Holy-dayes, whereas there is no day nor houre, wherein the Minister is not onely permitted, but commanded to baptize? By like abuse you are perswaded, that many hold, that the blessed Sacrament of Christs body doth nothing differ from common bread, whereas Lawes, Statutes, Proclamations, common practice agree,*



agree, that common bread is onely to sustaine the body, but this blessed bread is food for the soule. Touching Confirmation, doth any beleve, that a child baptized is damned, unlesse it be confirmed? If it be baptized, and also confirmed, is it saved onely by Confirmation, and not by Baptisme? Or is it the more saved by Confirmation? Children are confirmed at the age of discretion, to teach them what they received in their infancy. They are taught by Confirmation, to continue in that whereto they were baptized. Ob, how much doe they need, who will never be content? What may satisfy those, who have no limits to their desires?

As for the order of Service, and use thereof in the English tongue, which you esteeme new, it is no other than the old, the same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it



had bin a shame to have heard  
them in English; and how can  
any reasonable men be offended,  
to understand what God by his  
Word speaketh unto them? what  
they by their prayers speak unto  
God? If the Service were good  
in Latine, it remaines so in En-  
glish: for nothing is altered, but  
to make you understand what is  
said. In like sort the Masse  
with great judgement and care  
was reduced to the same manner  
as Christ left it, as the Apostles  
used it, as the ancient Fathers  
received, practised, and left it.

But you would in sober earnest  
have the sixe Articles againe  
revived: Doe you understand  
what you would have? or are  
you masters of your owne judge-  
ment? If you understand them,  
and yet desire them, it is not  
long since they were enacted,  
and have since drawne much  
blood from the subjects; and  
would you have blondy lawes  
againe in life? or would they  
any



any long time be endured? Upon  
pity they were taken away, upon  
ignorance they are againe de-  
manded: Verily, that in the Go-  
spell may truly bee sayd of you,  
Ye aske ye know not what. For  
you neither know what good you  
shall have by receiving them, nor  
what evill you have lost by their  
abolishing. Our intention is to  
have our Lawes written with  
milke, but you would have them  
written with blond. They were  
established by law, and so obser-  
ved, although with much ex-  
pence of blond; they are abol-  
shed by law with sparing of  
blond, and that also must be ob-  
served: For, unlesse lawes be  
duly observed, neither the au-  
thority of the Prince, nor safety  
of the people can be preserved.

And whereas you would have  
them remaine in force untill our  
full age, if you had knowne what  
you speake, you never would  
have given breath to such an  
unseasoned thought. For what



our authority the lesse for our age? or shall we be more King hereafter than now? or are you lesse subjects now, than in future times you shall be? Verily, as a naturall man we have now youth, and by Gods sufferance expect age; but as a King, we have no difference in yeeres, we are rightfull King by Gods ordinance, and by descent from our royall Ancestors, and not by any set number of yeeres: and much it is to be feared, that they who moved you to require this suspension of time, would absolutely deny our royall power, if they durst so plainly expresse themselves.

The seditious, as men alwaies dangerous when they have once broken awe, interpreted this or any other milde dealing to proceed from some faining or fainting disposition, either doubting or daring most, when they are most fairely entreated: and the more to enflame the popular rage,



rage, fresh rumours were devised and divulged, that the people should be constrained to pay a ratable tax for their sheep and other cattell, and an excise for every thing which they should eat or drinke: by which and other like reports the simple were blinded, the malicious edged, all hardned from applying to any peaceable persuasion.

And now unable to support themselves either with their owne estate, or by waste of villages, they aspired to the spoile and subjection of Cities; and first, they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance; but the Citizens, as they were both civil and rich, so were they better advised, and therefore closed their gates, and refused to have any intercourse with the seditious, but either by common obedience, or else by hostility and armes. The popular fury being thus stopped, swelled the more where-



whereupon they resolved to apply their endeavours for taking the City, and either by destroying it, to increase terrour, or else by sparing it, to winne an opinion of moderation. They had no great Artillery to open a breach, and yet without reason they gave an assault, and used divers meanes to mount the walls; but the more madnesse they shewed in their attempt, with the greater losse they were driven back. Then they fired the gates at two severall times; but the Citizens at both times by casting in wood maintained the fire, untill they had cast up a halfe moone within, upon which when the seditious attempted to enter, they were slaine from the corners like dogges. After this they mined the walls, laid the powder, and rammed the mouth; but the Citizens made a counter-mine, whereinto they powred such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired.

H

In



In the meane time the Lord Privie Seale lay at *Hunnington*, expecting more strength, and knowing right well, that as the multitude are slow to danger, so are they most desperate when they are stirred; but whilst hee expected more company, many of those hee had, slipped away from him. Hereupon hee resolved for retaining the rest, to entertaine some present enterprise: And first, he assayed by a by-way to enter and relieve the City; but the seditious, for prevention hereof, had felled all the trees between *St. Mary Outry* and *Exeter*, and laid them crosse the way, in such sort as they impeached his passage. Hereupon firing such places as he thought might serve either for use or ease to the seditious, he determined to returne to *Hunnington*. But the seditious fore-layed a bridge, over which hee should passe, called *Pennington bridge*, and in a great faire meddow be



hind the bridge, placed a great number under Banners displaid. The Lord Privie Seale had but a small company in regard of the seditious; yet with good order and courage hee attempted the bridge, but could not force it: at the last, finding the river to bee fordable at the foot of the bridge, hee there set over his horse; whereupon the guards appointed to defend the bridge, forsooke their charge, and retired to their strength in the meadow. Then the Kings forces charged lively upon them, and they againe as stoutly received the charge; but being an untrained multitude, without either souldier or guide, they were soone broken and put to flight: yet they valued themselves, and tumultuously charged upon the Kings forces, but were presently rowted and cast out of the field: The chase was not farre pursued for feare of fresh succours from before the City. Not-



withstanding the seditious lost sixe hundred of their men, and the Lord Privie Seale returned without losse to *Hunnington*.

At this time the seditious lived by rapine and ruine of all the country, omitting nothing of that which savages (enraged in the height of their unruly behaviour) doe commit: but the Citizens driven to great distresse for want of victuals, made bread of coursest branne moulded in clothes, for that otherwise it would not cleave together: Their finest flesh was of their owne horses; especially for twelve dayes they endured most extreme famine. During this time they were much encouraged by an aged Citizen, who brought forth all his provisions, and said, that as he did communicate unto them his store, he would hee participate of their wants: and that for his part, he would feed on the one arme, and fight with the other, before hee  
would



would consent to put the City into the seditious hands. Here-with the Lord Privie Seale, for want of power to performe any services, was about to rise and returne to *London*: but in good time the Lord *Gray* came to him with supply of forces, most *Almaine* horsemen, and with him came *Spinola* with his band of *Italians*, consisting of three hundred shot, purposed for *Scotland*; also two hundred men were sent unto him from *Redding*: so being in all not much above a thousand strong, he made head against the seditious. Departing from *Hunnington*, he came to a little village, from whence lay two wayes towards *Exeter*, both which were blocked up with two bulwarkes of earth made by the seditious: hither they had driven two thousand men from before *Exeter*, whom they divided into foure companies. In either of the bulwarkes they



lodged one, at the bridge, neere the backe of one of the Forts, a third company was placed: the fourth was laid in ambush behind a hedge on the high way, at the backe of the other Fortresse. The Arrier of the Kings forces, led by Captain *Wauers*, set upon one of the Forts; the Vaward and Battaile upon the other. *Spinola* with his shot did beare upon those within, who offered to appeare upon the walls. At length, Capitaine *Wauers* wonne the Fort which hee assailed, and drave the defendants to the bridge, where one of their companies made stand. Herewith the other two companies did forthwith resort unto them, one from the second Fort, the other from the Ambush. These casting a strong guard upon the bridge, marshalled the residue upon a plaine ground behind the bridge. The Kings forces comming forward, drave the guard from the bridge, and making



making profit of the fresh terror, let upon those who were upon the plaine. The Kings footmen were firmly ranked, the troupes of horse in good array, whereas the seditious had neither weapons, order, nor counsell; but being in all things unprovided, were slaine like beasts. They tooke their flight towards Saint *Mary cliffe*, but the souldiers, upon disdain of their unworthy actions, filled themselves with revenge and blood, and slew of them above nine hundred, not sparing one.

This sad blow abated much the courage and hope of the seditious, and yet the next day about two thousand of them affronted the Kings forces at the entrance of a high-way, whom when they found both ready and resolute to fight, they desired enterparlance, and in the meantime began to fortifie. But understanding that their intention was understood, more like slaves



than souldiers they furiously ranne away. The same night the seditions before *Exeter* raised their siege, and therewith discharged the City from many miseries and delpaires. The King afterwards enlarged the constant obedience of the City with enlargement both of liberties and of revenues: Hee gave unto them the Mannor of *Eviland* for a perpetuall remembrance both of their loyalty and of his love.

Now the seditions, driven almost to a dead delpaire, and supported onely by the vehemency of desire, brought forth their forces to *Clifton Heath*, to whom many of the most vile vulgars resorted hourly, which much enlarged their numbers, but nothing their strength. But what measure have men in the increase of madnesse, if they keepe not themselves from falling into it? They brought with them a  
Crucifixe



Crucifixe upon a Cart, covered with a canopy, and beset with crosses, tapers, banners, holy bread and holy water, as a representation of those things for which they fought. The Lord *Gray* encouraged his men to set sharply upon the vague villaines, good neither to live peaceably, nor to fight, and to winne at once both quiet to the Realme, and to themselves glory. So hee brought the Kings forces upon them, rather as to a carnage, than to a fight, insomuch, as without any great either losse or danger to themselves, the greatest part of the seditious were slaine; divers also were taken, ofwhom the common sort were forthwith executed by martiall law; the chiefeft Leaders were sent to receive justice at *London*. Some escaped & sailed to *Bridgewater*, who taking dangers to bee the onely remedy against dangers, endeavoured to set up



the sedition againe; but they were speedily repressed, and thereby the sedition suppressed wholly.

The sedition thus broken and beaten downe, Sir *Anthony Kingston* Provost Marshall of the Kings Army, was deemed by many not only cruell but uncivill and inhumane in his executions. One *Boyer*, Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, was observed to have bin among the seditions, but by absolute enforcement, as many others were. The *Martiall* wrote to him a letter, that he would dine at his house upon a day which he appointed, the Mayor seemed glad, and made for him the best provision that he could; upon the day he came, and a large company with him, and was received with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner he took the Mayor aside, and whispered him in the eare, that execution must that day bee done in the  
Towne.



Towne, and therefore required him that a paire of gallowes should bee framed and erected against the time that dinner should end: The Mayor was diligent to accomplish his demand, and no sooner was dinner ended, but he demanded of the Mayor whether the worke were finished; the Mayor answered, that all was ready: I pray you said the Provost, bring me to the place, and therewith hee tooke him friendly by the hand. Here beholding the gallowes, he asked the Mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough: Yes, said the Mayor, doubtlesse they are: Well then, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are prepared for you: I hope, answered the Mayor, you meane not as you speake: In faith, said the Provost, there is no remedy, for you have bin a busie rebell. And so without respite or defence he was strangled to death.

Neere the said place dwelled  
a Miller,



a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that rebellion, and fearing the approach of the Provost Martiall, told a sturdy tall fellow his servant, that hee had occasion to goe from home, and therefore gave directions, that if any one should enquire after the Miller, he should not speake of him, but affirme that himselfe was the Miller, and that so hee had been for three yeeres before. So the Provost came, and called for the Miller; his servant came forth, and said hee was the man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill: These three yeeres, answered the servant: Then the Provost commanded his mento lay hold on him, and to hang him on the neereſt tree: Then the fellow cryed out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man: Nay Sir, answered the Provost, I will take thee at thy word; and if thou beest the Miller, thou art a busie knave; if thou



thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave: whatsoever thou art thou shalt be hanged. When others also told him, that the fellow was but the Millers man, And what then, said he? could he ever have done his master a better service, than to hang for him? and so without more to doe hee was dispatched. Assuredly, this might have passed for a tolerable jest, if it had not been in a case of life.

Divers others were executed by martiall law, and a great part of the country was abandoned to the spoile of the souldiers, who not troubling themselves to discerne between a subject and a rebell, whilest their liberty lasted, made indifferently profit of both.

The seditious in *Northfolke* were somewhat more dangerous, both because their strength was greater, as also because the City of *Norwich* was a friend unto them, or at least wished them



them no great harme, and being faithfull to neither side, was alwayes ready to entertaine the stronger. Their first attempt was made at *Attleborough*, where they threw downe the fences of one *Greene* of *Wilby*, who was supposed to have enclosed a part of *Attleborough* Common, adjoyning to the common pasture of *Harsham*. Afterward they assembled at a play, accustomed yearly to bee kept at *Wimondham*, and from thence went to *Morley*, a mile distant, and there cast downe the ditches of one *Hubbard*. Next, by incitement of *John Flowerden* of *Netheset*, a Gentleman of good estate, but never expressing desire of quiet, they did the like to certaine Enclosures of *Robert Ket*, a Tanner in *Wimondham*, and received of him thirty eight shillings foure pence for their labour. This *Ket*, who hath made his obscure beginning well knowne by his mischievous attempts, to requite

*Flowerden,*



*Flowerdew*, carried them to *Ne-  
theset*, where they cast down all  
the enclosed pasture of *Flower-  
dew*, and not staying there, hee  
led them indifferently to divers  
other places, laying all enclo-  
sures where hee came rather  
waste than open.

And the rather to train them  
to his lure, he told them, both  
often and with vehement voice,  
how they were over-topped and  
trodden downe by Gentlemen,  
and other their good Masters,  
and put out of possibility ever  
to recover foot: How whilst ri-  
vers of riches ran into their  
landlords coffers, they were pa-  
red to the quicke, and fed upon  
Pease and Oates like beasts;  
How being fleeced by these for  
private benefit, they were slayed  
by publike burthens of state,  
wherein whilst the richer sort  
favoured themselves, they were  
gnawne to the very bones: How  
the more to terrifie and torture  
them to their mindes, and wind  
their



their neckes more surely under their arme, their tyrannous masters did often implead, arrest, cast them into prison, and thereby consume them to worse than nothing: How they did palliate these pillaries with the faire pretence of authority and of law: (Fine workmen, I warrant you, who can so closely carry their dealings, that then men onely discover them :) How harmlesse counsels were fit for tame fooles; but for them who had already stirred, there was no hope but in adventuring boldly.

The likenesse of affection, and the masking of vices under pleasant termes, procured not onely assent, but applause to all that hee said; and so by often and earnest repeating of these and the like speeches, and by bearing a confident countenance in all his actions, the vulgar tooke him to be both valiant and wise, and a fit man to be their



their Commander, being glad they had found any Captaine to follow.

Their numbers increased daily, and therewith their boldnesse and power to doe harme: they were largely supplied at the first both with victualls and armes, albeit not with open consent of the places adjoyning, yet with much private good will: for many did not onely secretly favour, but openly approve their designs. Generally, every good man was much grieved; many upon some dislikes before, rejoyced in their greater harmes, and not regarding in what liberty they stood, were ready to runne into any bondage. The Sheriffe of *Northfolke* resorted unto them, and made proclamation in the Kings name, that forthwith they should peaceably depart; and had hee not been ready, and his horse swift to depart in time, he should hardly have.



have departed from them alive.

After this they drew towards *Norwich*, and seated themselves at *Monshold* neere *Mount Surrey*, and upon *Saint Leonards*, which hangerth over *Norwich*: another company, seated at *Rising* neere *Lynne*, were dislodged by the Gentlemen of the country, and forced to draw to their fellowes at *Monshold*. Here the maine body encamped, and sent divers light companies forth to terrifie and rove. To this place many resorted out of *Suffolke*, and from all places of *Northfolke*, many for want, but most upon a turbulent minde; and in all places thereabout Beacons were fired, and Bells rung, as a roaring furtherance to this up-roare, so as in short time the multitude increased to sixteen thousand, and yet rather to be esteemed a number than an army.

Their actions were covered and disguised with mantles, very  
usual



usuall in time of disorder of Religion and Justice: for they had one *Coniers* for their chaplaine, a man brought up in idle and dead studies, who both morning and evening read solemne Prayers; many Sermons they also had either by entreaty or enforcement. But Doctor *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Sermon before them, touched them for their living, so neere that they were neere to touch him for his life. As for Justice, they had a bench under a tree, where *K<sup>e</sup>* usually sate, and with him two of every Hundred, whence their companies had bin raised: Here complaints were exhibited, and examined as well against those of their owne company, who received judgement for their offences, as against any Gentleman or other in the country. By commandment from hence many were very violently pulled from their houses, of whom some were enforced



enforced to follow them, others were cast into prison, and happily fettered with irons, and not a few rudely and dangerously entreated: From hence also Warrants were sent forth in the Kings name, whereby ordnance, powder and shot were commanded out of ships, and any other furniture of warre out of houses where it could bee found. This tree was ever since termed the *Oake of reformation*.

And now the seditions, being advanced unto the height both of their power and of their pride, presented certaine complaints to the King, and desired that a Herald, or some other messenger of credit might be sent unto them, to receive Articles of all those matters, where-with they conceived themselves to be grieved. The King tooke it for a great indignity, that base traitours and thieves should offer to capitulate with him as enemies



enemies lawfully holding the field: and yet, knowing right well, that as good counsels gather strength by time, so upon a little respite evill advices either vanish or grow weaker, to winne some advantage of time, returned an answer, *That seeing hee was ready alwayes to receive and relieve the quiet complaints of any of his subjects, he marvelled much, either upon what opinion of necessity in themselves, or of injustice in him, they should first put themselves into armes, as a party against him, and then present him with their bold petitions, especially at such a time, when having fully reformed many other matters, hee had lately set forth a Proclamation against excessive prices of vittuals, and had also appointed Commissioners with ample authority for divers other things; whereof many doubtlesse had been by that time redressed,*  
*had*



had not these disorders given impediment to his designes: Generally, when they might well discerne both his care and endeavours to set all matters in a right frame of reformation, as might best stand both with his honour and their sureties, and with justice and providence towards all. Touching their particular complaint for reducing lands and farmes to their ancient rents, although it could not be done by his ordinary power without a Parliament, yet hee would so farre extend his authority royall and absolute, as to give charge to his Commissioners to travell with all persons within their counties, to reduce lands to their former rents, whereat they were farmed forty yeeres before, and that rents should be payd at Michaelmas then next ensuing, according to that rate; & that such as would not presently yeeld to his Commissioners for that redresse, should



ould at the Parliament, which  
he would forthwith summon, be  
re-ruled.

Concerning their complaint  
for price of woolles; hee would  
forthwith give order, that his  
Commissioners should cause Clo-  
thiers to take woolles, paying  
only two parts of the price  
whereat they were commonly  
sold the yeere next before; and  
for the other third part the  
seller and the buyer should stand  
in such order as the Parliament  
should appoint. At which time  
also he would give order, that  
landed men to a certaine propor-  
tion should be neither clothiers  
nor farmers: And farther, that  
one man should not use divers  
occupations, nor have plurality  
of benefices, nor of farmes: and  
generally, that hee would then  
give order for all the residue of  
their requests, in such sort as  
they should have good cause  
not only to remaine quiet, but  
to pray for him, and to adven-  
ture



*ture their lives in his service.*

This Parliament he promised should begin in the beginning of October then next ensuing, against which time they should appoint foure or sixe of their county, to present bills of their desires, and in the meane season apply themselves to their harvest, & other peaceable businesse at home, and not to drive him to necessity (whereof he would bee sorry) by sharper meanes to maintaine both his owne dignity, and the common quiet.

These letters carrying the Kings name in the front, and the Protectors with the Kings signature at the foot, were sent by a Herald to *Monmouth*, a place guarded with great, but confused and disordered strength of the seditious. Herewith also the King sent his generall pardon, in case they would quietly desist and dissolve. But the seditious were so far from accepting thereof, or any other offers of accomodation, that



that hereupon they discharged the first shot against the City, and because their Artillery, being planted on a hill, could little or nothing endamage the walls, they removed their battery to a lower ground; but because the City was weak, and the Citizens but weakly disposed against them, with no danger and little travell, they made themselves masters thereof. Here they imprisoned the Mayor, and many other of the chiefe Citizens, and ordered all things at their pleasure; but maintained the chiefe seat at *Manbold*, where it was before. The Mayor of *Norwich*, and some other Gentlemen of credit, they constrained to be present at all their counsell, with intention to countenance their actions with some authority, but in no sort to be guided by them. All this time the Kings forces advanced but slowly, being imployed in appeasing the like disorders

I more



more neere the heart of the Kingdome. So that it is most certaine, that had these seditious been so mischieuously bent, as in number they were great, they might have proved more dangerous than they were; but they aimed not at ambitious ends, their rude earthly spirits were never seasoned with any manly adventurous thought, and therefore they were content with a licentious and idle life, wherein they might fill their bellies by spoile, rather than by labour. To this side their companies ranged in all parts thereabouts, and rooke away for their use much household-stuffe and goods, but especially they brought to their stations many droves of cattell. For besides Deere out of Palatinate, besides Beeves, besides Fowls of all kindes, within a few dayes were brought out of the country two thousand Muttons; the numbers of Sheep were also brought in, that a fat We



was sold for foure pence. This was interpreted for a present plenty, but it made such scarcity afterwards, as could not in many yeeres be repaired. Sir *Edmond Knevet* Knight, with such company as he could assemble, charged upon one of their watches by night; but he was so farre inferior unto them, that it was esteemed a great fortune, that he departed from them with his life.

But soone after, the Lord *William Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*, was sent against them with a thousand five hundred horsemen, and a small band of *Italians*, under a Captaine named *Malatesta*: He was accompanied with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen of principall estimation. When he approached within a mile of the City, the Magistrates and chiefe Citizens upon summons resorted to his Standard, yeel-



ded unto him the City Sword, and professed their owne loyalty, and excused others of inferior force, who either by ignorance favoured the seditious, or through feare durst not declare against them. With these the Lord Marquesse entred the City at Saint *Stephens* gate, the City Sword being borne before him, and therewith caused the chiefe Citizens to assemble in the Market place, both to give advice, and to take direction how the City might best be defended.

In the meane time the strangers who came with him, whether by appointment, or by adventure, issued forth of the City, to view both the numbers and orders of the seditious. They againe first put forth their Archers, then their horsemen. Lastly, a company ranne furiously forth without either direction of others, or judgement in themselves, intending to have enclosed



sed the *Italians*: but here might have been a great difference between men practised to fight, and men accustomed onely to spoile. For the *Italians* in so well advised order received the seditious comming rashly upon them without either feare or skill, that divers of the tumultuous numbers were slaine. At the last the *Italians*, perceiving themselves almost invironed, cast themselves into a ring, and retired backe into the City. But they left one Gentleman of their company behind, who being overthrowne from his horse, fell into the hands of the seditious, who (like savages) spoiled him of his armour, and of his apparrell, and hanged him over the walls of *Mount Surrey*.

This caused the seditious to remaine the first part of the night within their station, which by reason of the nastinesse of the beastly multitude, might more fitly be termed a kennell



than a campe. Within the City diligent watch was kept, which was often visited and relieved. The souldiers remained in their armour all night, and kept so great a fire in the Market place, that all parts of the City were lighted therewith. The seditious about midnight began to shoot off their great Artillery very lively and thick. Hereupon the Lord Marquesse directed part of his forces to rampart the gates and ruinous places of the walls; which the seditious espy-

ing, with a hideous roaring and rage they powred themselves upon the City, some endeavouring to fire the gates, some to mount over the walls, and some to passe the river. The fight continued three houres, and it is almost incredible, with what rude rage the seditious maintained their assault: some being almost disabled to hold up their weapons, would strive what they could to strike their enemies: others



others being thrust through the body with a speare, would run themselves further, to reach those who gave them that deadly wound. At the last their obstinacy was overcome, and they returned to their cabbines with losse of three hundred of their company.

The residue of the night, which was not much, the souldiers within the City applyed in refreshing themselves; but the next morning the seditions, both with greater strength and better order, entered the City by the Hospitall, and began a most desperate surprise. The forces of the Marqueesse, albein inferiour in numbers, yet by reason of the freshnesse of the place might have been sufficient, if they had charged in order, and together; but being scattered in the streets, they were not able to make resistance: Herewith they were much endammaged by the Citizens from their houses, so as



a hundred of them perished : many were hurt, and the residue driven to forsake the City. The Lord *Sheffields* horse fell with him into a ditch ; whereby hee fell into the power of the seditious ; and as hee pulled off his Helmet, to shew them who hee was, a Butcher slew him with the stroke of a club. Diver Gentlemen, to the number of thirty, were taken and committed to streight prison, where they were vexed alike with scarcity and scorne. The seditious lost about seven score of their company, and yet much fleshed with this successe, they spoiled many parts of the City, & fired the houses of those whom they esteemed not to be their friends. But the rage of the fire was at first hindred, and then appeased by fall of a sudden showre of raine : whereupon many presumed, that the flames of this sedition should neither spread farre, nor long endure. The report of  
this



this repulse flying to *London*,  
the most made of that which  
was true, and many falsities ad-  
ded thereto, the Earle of *War-*  
*wicke* was forthwith sent with  
such forces, both *English* and  
strangers, as were appointed  
for service in *Scotland*. When  
he came to *Cambridge*, the Lord  
Marquesse resorted unto him,  
and also the Lord *Willoughby*,  
*Pemes* and *Bray*, his two sonnes  
*Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many  
Knights and Gentlemen of name:  
with these he marched somewhat  
hastily, because the importance  
of the danger might make the  
service the more esteemed. At  
length hee presented his forces,  
consisting of sixe thousand foot,  
and a thousand five hundred  
horse, before the City upon the  
plaine, and forthwith sent to  
summon the seditious, and to  
offer pardon, if it would be ac-  
cepted; but neither summons  
nor pardon was any thing re-  
garded. Inasmuch, as when the



Kings pardon was offered by a Herald, a lewd boy turned towards him his naked breech, and used words futable to that gesture. One standing by, and moved with this barbarous behaviour, discharged a harquebut upon the boy, and stroke him with the shot a little above the reins. Hereat those seditious that seemed moderate before, became desperate; and those who were desperate, seemed starke mad: whence such tumults, such confused hollowings and howlings ensued, that the Herald was glad to withdraw himselfe.

Then the Earle planted his Cannon against Saint *Stephens* gate, and set Pioners to worke against the brazen gate. The Cannon against Saint *Stephens* gate executed so well, that in short time the Portcullis and gate were broken, and entry opened into the City. Others entered at the brazen gate, but in that entrance some were slain.



Also the Mayors deputy opened *Westwicke* gate, where the Earle himselfe entered without resistance, and possessed himselfe of the Market place. At these entrances an hundred and thirty of the seditious were slain, sixty were taken, and forthwith executed by martiall law. As the Earls carriages were brought into the City, neither guarded nor regarded as they should, divers of them were surpris'd by the seditious, & driven to *Monshold*. At this booty they were more joyfull, than grieved at the losse either of the City, or of their companions; especially, for that they were supplied thereby with good store of powder and shot, wherein their want did most consist.

The Earle being in possession of the City, rampared all the gates, except those which opened towards *Monshold*, wherein he planted good Artillery. But the seditious, the more terrible  
by



by reason of their more desperate fury, fell upon those gates, albeit without order, yet with such rude and carelesse courage and cries, that they beat backe the guardes, slew the principall gunners, carried away their Artillery, and therewith certaine Carts laden with munition. Here were boyes obserued to be so desperately resolved, as to pull arrowes out of their own flesh, & deliver them to be shot againe by the Archers on their side. Hereupon the Earle was enforced to blocke up those gates, as hee had done the rest; but the City was so weake, that it could hardly be defended.

For the seditious, being now furnished with artillery, powder and shot, battered *Bishopsgate*, and cast downe a great part of the walls upon that side of the City. They afterwards passed the river likewise, and assailed the Earles men upon advantage in the streets, of whom many they slew.



slaw, and fired divers places, prostrating two Parishes almost entirely: so they did mischief, they little cared what they did, or to what end. And in such sort the danger increased, that many perswaded the Earle to submit courage to rage, and for a time to abandon the City. But he not easily vincible in spirit, and well assured that having stopped all passages for reliefe, shortnesse of provision would in very short time draw the obstinacy of the seditious to shorter limits, drew his sword, and caused others to doe the like, and (according to a souldiery custome in cases of extremity) by enterchange of a kisse by every of them upon the swords of others, sealed a resolution to maintaine the place.

Assuredly, as it is advantageable to a Physician to be called to the cure of a declining disease; so it is for a Commander to suppress a sedition which hath passed the height: for in both



both alike the noxious humour doth first weaken, and afterwards waste and weare to nothing: And besides, it is scarce possible, that a rude and ruinous multitude should continue long together, if any prevention bee applyed, but they will fall into irreparable wants. And so it hapned to these seditious, who after three dayes, finding their provision to faile, fired their cabbines built of timber, and covered with bushes, and with a broken noise, between certaine questions and doubtfull answers, dislodged from their Hill, and entrenched themselves at the foot thereof in a valley, called *Dusfendale*, where they invited the Earle to a present encounter. And as there hath seldome hapned any sedition within this Realme, but the chiefe actors therein have been abused with some prophecies of doubtfull construction; so the seditious were moved to remove to this place.



place upon a prophesie much  
credited among them, that they  
should fill it with slaughtered  
bodies; but whether of their ene-  
mies or of their owne, it was  
left uncertaine. The words of the  
prophesie were these:

(and Hick,  
The country Knuffes, Hob, Dick  
with clubs and clouted shoones,  
Shall fill up Duffendale  
with slaughtered bodiees soone.

The Earle, being newly supply-  
ed with a thousand foure hun-  
dred horse, was glad that the  
seditions had forsaken their Hill,  
for that his horsemen, in whom  
consisted his greatest strength,  
could there performe but little  
service: So the next morning he  
sent forth all his horsemen, of  
whom a thousand were *Al-  
maines* (as accustomed, so ad-  
venturous in armes); his foot he  
retained within the Towne. The  
seditions ranged themselves for  
the fight, placing all the Gentle-  
men



men whom they had taken in front, every two coupled together, to make them sure from starting away. The Earle (before hee would charge) sent to them an offer of a generall pardon, one or two of the principall excepted. But this more chafed the rage of those who were resolved either to live or dye together: and what cared they for pardon, who have nothing but a vile and servile life to lose? For no more could be gotten from their estates, than from the shaying of an egge: wherefore in a proud scorn they answered this offer with a great shot, that stricke the Kings Standard-bearer on the thigh and his horse on the shoulder. Hereupon the Earle commanded his Artillery to be applied. The *Almaines* also and Captain *Drury* with his troupes gave a resolute charge, & yet with such discretion, that most of the captive Gentlemen, who were placed



ced in the front, escaped without harme. These were so well seconded by the light horse, that in short time they brake the seditious, chased them above three miles, and filled themselves with bloud untill night: There dyed of them two thousand, as King *Edward* tooke the number, but our Histories report more than three thousand five hundred.

In the meane time, they who guarded the Artillery and Baggage, enclosed themselves with carriage & a trench, and pitched stakes to bear off the approach of horses, determining to stand stiffly upon their defence. The Earle returning frō the execution, did excuse them by message, that because the King his Master was desirous to establish peace rather by benignity than by bloud, he did assure them their pardon, if they would submit, otherwise they might expect nothing but death. Answer was made, that they expected nothing but death,  
and



and that they respected nothing at all; but it was by the sword, if they stood upon defence, and by the halber, if they should yeeld: wherefore they made choice to dye rather as souldiers than as dogges. The Earle sent againe, to know if they would entertaine their pardon in case hee should come in person and assure it: They answered, they did conceive him to bee so honourable, that from himselfe they would most thankfully imbrace it. So he rode, and caused their pardon to be read to them, and engaged his honour that it should be performed. They seeming to respect life more than any other thing, threw away their weapons and disloyalty together, and with voices so lowd, as before they were lewd, wished all joy and prosperity to the King.

The Commander Ker, having a good horse, fled away with the first; and the next day

was



was taken with his brother *William* in a Barne, and brought with a guard of twenty horsemen to *Norwich*, both of them having made good prooffe that they were no lesse able to guide an army in warre, than they were to govern themselves in peace. Nine of the principall were hanged upon the *Trees of Reformation*, of whom two were seducing prophets, a thurd was a most excellent Cannonier, whose good skill evilly employed did much endamage the service of the King. *Robert Ket* and his brother were sent to *London*, and from thence returned to bee executed in *North-folke*. *Robert Ket* was hanged in chaines upon *Norwich* castle; his brother *William* was in like sort executed upon *Wy-mondham* steeple, but not without some murmuring, for that that Church, dedicated to the service of God, (& which is polluted by violent death) should be



be made a place of publike execution. The day of this defeat of the seditious, was a long time after yearly observed for a festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*, as well by cessation from labour, as by resorting to Church, to give publike thanks for their deliverance.

About the same time another sedition was raised at *Sewarke* in the North-riding of *Torkeshire*, whereof the chiefe movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clarke, and *Stevenson* a Poste. They tooke encouragement from a darke and deceivable prophesie (a common law both of obedience and peace) which did foretell, That the time should arrive, when there should bee no King, when the Nobility and Gentry should bee destroyed, when the Realme should be ruled by foure Governors, elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in commotion, which should



should begin at the South and North Seas of *England*, and that present they understood to bee the time, and that the rebellious in *Devonshire, Northfolke* and *Yorkeshire* should draw together to accomplish this prophesie. The pretences were to restore the Church to her ancient Rites, (for that was alwaies one note in their musicke) to relieve the poore, to abate the rich, and generally, to disburthen the Realm of all grievances; a seemly taske for such undertakers.

And now for execution hereof, first by firing of Beacons, and ringing of Bells (as if the coast had been assailed by enemies) they assembled about three thousand in armes, whom they drew to bee appliable to their purpose. Then to begin their great worke of Reformation, they slew one *White* a Gentleman, *Savage* a Merchant, and two others of meaner quality, & left their bodies naked upon the



the wild neere *Semor*. After this they passed to the *East-riding* in *Torkeshire*, their company daily increasing like a snow-ball in rowling, and many they tooke with them much against their mindes. But no sooner was the Kings pardon presented, but most of them fell off and disperfed, leaving *Ombler* and *Diale* almost alone. These as they were riding like mad men from Towne to Towne, charging people in the Kings name to assemble at *Hammanby*, were apprehended, and with foure others of the most tumultuous soone after executed at *Torky*, whose speedy punishment staid others, who were thought to waver between obedience and revolt.

Now the *French* King, supposing to make his hand by these rude ravages in *England*, brake off his treaty of peace, proclaimed hostility, and denounced the same by his Embassador to



the King. Hereupon all *French* men in *England*, not *Denizens*, were taken prisoners, and all their goods seized for the King. The *French* King, understanding that certaine *English* ships lay at *Jersey*, set forth a Fleet of Gallies and Ships, intending to surprize them as they lay at anchor. But the *English*, being both vigilant and well appointed, in such sort did entertaine them, that their Ships departed terribly torne, with losse of a thousand men at the least. The *French* King, fearing lest that the bad successe of this first enterprise might both discourage his people, and bring dis-reputation to himselfe, forbad any report to bee made, not onely of the event but of the journey.

After this, the *French* King leved an Army by land, where-with marching towards *Bulleine*, he tooke *Blacknesse* and *Newhaven*, two Forts of the *English* were unto *Bulleine*. This he did effect



effect chiefly by the treason of one *Sturton*, a bastard son of Lord *Sturtons*, and by revolt divers *Almaines*, who served the garrisons, who being meer mercenary, did easily incline the strongest.

From whence the French King marched towards *Bullain* upon whose approach Sir *Nicholas Arnault*, Capitaine *Bullingberge*, holding the place not of strength to be held, withdrew all the ordnance and matters of worth into high *Bullain* and with gun-powder blew the Fort. So the French King brought his Army before *Amboine*; but because the Plague began amongst his souldiers, and the weather was unseasonable by reason of much fall of rain, he departed from his Army, and left *Chastilion* Governour in his stead.

*Chastilion* bent his siege against the *Pierre*, which was erected in *Bulloine* haven;



after battery of twenty thousand  
shot or more, the breach was  
thought reasonable, and there-  
upon the assault was given. But  
the same was so well encountred  
by the valour of the defendants,  
helped with advantage of place,  
that the obstinacy of the assai-  
lants did nothing but increase  
their losse; so as the first fury be-  
ing broken & spent, the *French*  
resolved to attempt the *Pierre*  
more by assault: Notwithstan-  
ding they continued the siege,  
presented divers skirmishes and  
other attempts; but they spent  
both their labour and shot with-  
out putting the defendants in  
any feare. Then they planted  
their artillery against the mouth  
of the haven, to impeach supply  
of victualls to the Towne; yet  
the *English* victuallers surceased  
at the Kings adventure to  
bring all things necessary, untill  
the end. The souldiers of the  
Towne set upon the *French* sud-  
denly by night, slew many of  
K them,



them, and dismounted their Peeces.

Then the *French* applyed their battery againe, wherein they sometimes spent fiftene hundred shot in one day; but finding this to bee a fruitlesse fury, they afterwards used it more sparingly, and rather upon a shew of hostility, than upon any hope thereby to prevaile. In the meane season they charged a Galley with gravell and stones, and prepared to sinke it in the midst of the haven. But the *English*ooke the Galley before it lunke, and drew it to the shore, and used the stones to reinforce the *Pierre*. After this they made faggots of light matter, mixed with pitch, tarre, tallow, rosin, powder and wild-fire with intention to fire the *Ship* in the haven; but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bulletts*, and the fagots taken from the *French*. During these enterprises divers skirmishes passed be-



between the *English* and the *French* about the frontiers of *Calles*, which, as they were but light, so most of them ended with disadvantage to the *French*.

And now, as if all these troubles had not been sufficient to travell the Realm of *England* at once, a great division fell among the Nobility, so much the more dangerous, by how much the factions were more active and high. And albeit the heat thereof was much appeased for a time by the great judgement and moderation of the King, yet did it breake forth in the end to tragical events, not upon particular persons only, but did much overflow, and almost over-whelme the whole Realme with disquiet. And hereof the most apparent originall was this:

The King had two Uncles, brothers to Queen *Jane* his deceased mother, *Edward* Duke of *Somerset* Lord Protector, and



*Thomas* Lord *Seymer* Baron of *Sudley*, high Admirall of *England*: As the Duke was elder in yeeres, so was he more stayed in behaviour. The Lord *Sudley* was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty of matter: both were so faithfully affected to the King, that the one might well be termed his Sword, the other his Target. The Duke was greatest in favour with the people, the Lord *Sudley* most respected by the Nobility; both highly esteemed by the King, both fortunate alike in their advancements, both ruined alike by their owne vanity and folly. Whilest these two brothers held in amity, they were like two armies, the one defending the other, and both of them the King. But many things did move together to dissolve their love, and bring them to ruine. First, their contrary disposition, the one being tractable



tractable and milde, the other  
stiffe and impatient of a superi-  
our; whereby they lived but in  
cunning concord, as brothers  
glued together, but not united  
in graine: Then much secret en-  
vie was borne against them, for  
that their new lustre did dimme  
the light of men honoured with  
ancient Nobility. Lastly, they  
were openly minded, as hasty  
and soone moved, so uncircum-  
spect, & easie to be minded. By  
these the knot not onely of love,  
but of nature between them was  
dissolved; so much the more pity,  
for that the first cause proceeded  
from the pride, the haughty hate,  
the unquiet vanity of a mannish,  
or rather of a divellish woman.

For the Lord *Sudley* had taken  
to wife *Katherine Parre*, Queen  
Dowager, last wife to *K. Henry*  
the 8<sup>th</sup>. a woman beautified with  
many excellent vertues, especi-  
ally with humility, the beauty of  
all other vertues. The Duke had  
taken to wife *Anne Stanhope*,



a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous. Shee was exceeding both subtle and violent in accomplishing her ends, for which shee spurned over all respects both of conscience & of shame. This woman did beare such invincible hate, first against the Queen Dowager for light causes and womans quarrels, especially for that shee had precedency of place before her, being wife to the greatest Peere in the land, then to the Lord *Sudley* for her sake; that albeit the Queene Dowager dyed by child-birth, yet would not her malice either dye or decrease, but continually shee rubbed into the Dukes dull capacity, that the Lord *Sudley*, dissenting from him in opinion of Religion, sought nothing more than to take away his life, as well in regard of the common cause of Religion, as thereby happely to attaine his place. Many other things shee boldly feigned,



feigned, being assured of easie  
beliefe in her heedlesse hearer,  
alwaies fearfull and suspicious  
(as of feeble spirie) but then  
more than ever, by reason of  
some late opposition against  
him. Her perswasions she cunningly  
intermixed with teares,  
affirming, that she would depart  
from him, as willing rather  
to heare both of his disgraces  
and dangers, than either to see  
the one, or participate of the other.

The Duke imbracing this  
womans counsell (a womans  
counsell indeed, and nothing the  
better) yeelded himselfe both  
to advise and devise for destruction  
of his brother. The Earle  
of *Warwicke* had his finger in  
the businesse, and drew others  
also to give either furtherance  
or way to her violent desires, being  
well content shee should  
have her minde, so as the Duke  
might thereby incurre infamy  
and hate. Hereupon the Lord



*Sudley* was arrested, and sent to the Tower, and in very short time after condemned by act of Parliament. And within few dayes after his condemnation, a Warrant was sent under the hand of his brother the Duke, whereby his head was delivered to the axe. His owne fierce courage hastened his death, because equally ballanced betwene doubt and disdain, he was desirous rather to dye at once, than to linger long upon courtesie, and in feare.

The accusations against him contained much frivolous matter, or terme them pitifull, if you please. The act of Parliament expresseth these causes of his attaindor: For attempting to get into his custody the person of the King, and government of the Realme: For making much provision of money and of victuals: For endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings sister: For perswading the



the King in his tender age to take upon him the rule and order of himselfe. The proofes might easily bee made, because hee was never called to his answer: but as well the protestations at the point of his death, as the open course and carriage of his life, cleered him in opinion of many. So doubtfull are all weighty matters, whilest some take all they heare for certaine; others making question of any truths, posterity enlarging both. Doctor *Latymer* pretending all the gravity and sincerity of a professed Divine, yet content to be serviceable to great mens ends, declared in a Sermon before the King, that whilest the Lord *Sudley* was a prisoner in the Tower, he wrote to the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings sisters, that they should revenge his death; which indeed the Lady *Mary* afterwards more truly did, by executing the Earle of *Warwicke*, than



either she was, or at that time could in particular be required. Many other imputations he cast forth, besides (most doubted) many knowne to be untrue: And so, whereas *Papinian* a civill Lawyer, but a Heathen, chose rather to dye, than to defend the murther which the Emperour *Caracalla* had done upon his brother *Geta*; some Theologians have bin imployed to defile places erected only for religion and truth, by defending oppressions and factions, staining their professions, and the good arts which they had learned, by publishing odious untruths upon report and credit of others.

O wives! the most sweet poison, the most desired evill in the world. Certainly, as it is true as *Syracides* saith, that *there is no malice to the malice of a woman*, so no mischief warrereth, where a malicious woman beareth sway. A woman was first given to man for a comforter  
but



but not for a counsellor, much  
lesse a controller and director;  
and therefore in the first sen-  
tence against man this cause is  
expressed, *Because thou obeyedst  
the voice of thy wife.* And  
doubtlesse the Protector, by be-  
ing thus ruled to the death of  
his brother, seemed with his left  
hand to have cut off his right:  
for hereupon many of the Nobili-  
ty cryed out upon him, that he  
was a bloud-sucker, a murtherer,  
a parricide, a villaine, and that  
it was not fit the King should  
be under the protection of such a  
ravenous Wolfe. Soone after it  
was given forth and beleevved by  
many, that the King was dead,  
whereupon hee passed in great  
state through the City of *Lon-  
don*, to manifest that he was both  
alive and in good health: whe-  
ther this speech were spread ei-  
ther by adventure, or by art, it is  
uncertaine; certaine it is it did  
something shake the strength of  
the Kings affection towards the  
Protector.

Besides,

Gen. 3. 17.



Besides, many well disposed mindes conceived a hard opinion of him, for that a Church by *Strand-bridge*, and two Bishops houses were pulled downe, to make a seat for his new building; in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had bin there buried were cast up, and carried into the fields: and because the stones of those houses and the Church did nothing suffice for his worke, the steeple and most part of the Church of *Saint John of Jerusalem* neer *Smithfield* (most beautifully erected and adorned not long before by *Docray*, Priour of that Church) was mined and overthrowne with powder, and the stones applyed to this spacious building. And because the worke could not bee therewith finished, the Cloister of *Pauls* on the North side of the Church in a place called *Pardons Church-yard*, and the dance of death, very curiously wrought about



about the Cloister, and a Chap-  
pell that stood in the midst of  
the Church-yard, also the Char-  
nell house that stood upon the  
South side of *Pauls* (now a Car-  
penters yard) with the Chap-  
pell, Tombes and Monuments  
therein, were beaten downe, the  
bones of the dead carried into  
*Finsbury* fields, and the stones  
converted to his building. It is  
constantly affirmed, that for the  
same purpose hee intended to  
pull downe the Church of Saint  
*Margaret* in *Westminster*, and  
that the standing thereof was  
preserved only by his fall. Assu-  
redly, as these actions were in  
an high degree impious, so did  
they draw with them both open  
dislike from men, and much se-  
cret revenge from God.

And now hath the Lord  
Protector played the first act  
of the Tragedy of his life,  
namely, his high and prospe-  
rous estate; he is now stepping  
into the second act, wherein he  
beginneth



beginneth mainly to decline.

For the Earle of *Warwicke* espying opportunity shewing it selfe, and knowing that in troublesome times the obedience of great persons is most easily shaken, drew about eighteen of the privie Councell, to knit with him against the Lord Protector. These hee did so wind up to his purpose, that they withdrew from the Court, fell to secret consultations, and walked in the City with many servants weaponed, and in new Liveries: the causes thereof many conjectured, but few knew. They were all desirous that the Protector's greatnesse should bee taken lower, but none conceived that the Earles malice did extend unto death. But the Lord Protector, as humble then as he had bin haughty before, sent Secretary *Peter* to them in the Kings name, to understand the causes of their assembly, and to declare unto them, that he would  
thanke



thanke them for hating him, in case they did it in love to the King, intreating them for the Kings sake, (if not for his safety yet for his quiet,) that they would forbear open shew of hostility, and resort unto him peaceably, that they might commune together as friends. In the mean time he armed five hundred men, part of the Kings, and part of his owne, the Court gares were rampard, and people raised both by Letters and Proclamation to aide the King; and the more to increasē the present terror, he removed the King by might from *Hampton court* to *Windfor*, with a company more resembling an army than a traine.

On the other side, the Lords at *London* first taking possession of the Tower, sent for the Maior and Aldermen of the City to the Earle of *Warwicks* lodging at *Ely* house in *Holborne*: here they presented themselves secretly



cretly armed, and the Lord Rich, then Lord Chancellour of England, a man of quicke and lively delivery of speech, but as of meane birth, so prone to thrust forwards the ruine of great persons; in this manner spake unto them:

*I am not ignorant into what adventure I now plunge my selfe, in speaking against a man both high in honour, and great in favour, both with the King and many of the people: but my duty prevailing against respect of danger, I will plainly declare the discontentments the Lords of his Majesties Councell have already conceived against the actions past of the Lord Protector, as also their feares touching matters to ensue, that with your aide they may in good time happily remedy the one, and remove the other, assuring you all, that as I will not utter any thing falsly, so will I forbear to tell many truths.*

*And*



And first, to touch upon his  
open ambition: With what good  
reason or purpose thinke we did  
he, being a man of many imper-  
fections, as want of eloquence,  
personage, learning, or good wit,  
aspire to the great offices of  
governing all affaires of state, fit  
for none but whom God hath fa-  
voured with fitting graces? And  
albeit these defects might have  
been well supplied by suffici-  
ency of others of the Councell,  
yet was he so peevishly opina-  
tive and proud, that hee would  
neither aske nor heare the ad-  
vice of any, but was absolute-  
ly ruled by the obstinate and  
imperious woman his wife, whose  
ambitious and mischievous will  
guided him in the most weigh-  
ty affaires of the Realme, that  
albeit hee was counselled by o-  
thers what was best, yet would  
he doe quite contrary, lest hee  
should seem to need their advice.  
And yet this was not enough, as  
avarice & ambition have never  
enough,



enough, but to adde dignity to authority, and to make sure, that as no man should in power, so in title surmount him, he would be advanced to the degree of Duke of Somerset, which hath alwaies bin a title for one of the Kings sons inheritable to the Crowne.

And albeit it may seeme a light matter to speake of bribery and extortion against him, yet his robberies and oppressions have bin such, that no man would willingly have adventured to commit them; unlesse he thought by treason so to assure himselfe, as he could not be called to answer for them: for he hath laid his ravenous hands upon the Kings Treasure and Jewels left by his father, which were knowne to bee of an inestimable value, that it might well bee said, even as hee had given forth, that King Henry dyed a very poore Prince, and had been utterly shamed, in case he had lived one quarter of a yeer longer.

Then



Then also what hauocke hath he made of the Kings lands and inheritance? What sales and exchanges, upon pretence of necessity? and yet what a high deale hath he transported to himselfe, without regard of others, who have employed their travailes and estates in service of the King, and of his deceased father? What arts hath he used to spend those, and spare himselfe against the time of his mischievous purpose? How greedily, how insatiably hath hee never ceased the whilest to rake and gleane mony together? What shamefull sale of offices and preferments hath he made, nothing regarding the worthinesse of the person, but the worth and weight of the gift, betraying thereby the administration of the Realm into the hands both of worthlesse and corrupt men? To speake nothing the whilest of his mint at Duresme place, erected and used for his private profit: To speake  
nothing



nothing of the great Bountifale of Colledges and Chantries: To speake nothing of all his other particular pillages; all which were so far from satisfying his bottomlesse desires, that he proceeded to fleece the whole Common-wealth, to cut and pare it to the very quicke.

For under colour of warre, which either his negligence drew on, or his false practises procured, he levied such a subsidy upon the whole Realme, as never was asked a greater at once, which should not have needed, albeit the warres had bin just, in case hee had not imbezeled the Kings treasure as hee did: for besides, he extorted mony by way of loane from all men who were supposed to have it, and yet left the Kings souldiers and servants unpaid. But in all these pretended necessities, how profuse was he in his private expences; carrying himselfe rather as fitting his owne greatnesse than the  
commas



common good? How did he riot  
and surfeit upon vain hopes, as if  
new supply for waste would never  
want? what treasures did he bury  
in his sumptuous buildings? and  
how foolish and fantastick were  
they? A fit man, forsooth, to go-  
vern a Realm, who had so goodly  
government in his owne estate.  
All these things, as there are but  
few but know, sowe may be assu-  
red, that hee never durst have  
committed halfe of them with a  
mind to have remained a subject  
under the law, & to be answer-  
able for his actions afterwards;  
but did manifestly intend, to  
heap his mischiefs with so high  
a treason, as hee might climbe  
above his Sovereigne, and stand  
sure beyond reach of law.

And for inducement to this his  
traiterous designe, he suborned  
his servants and certaine Prea-  
chers to spead abroad the prai-  
ses of his government, with as  
much abasing the noble K. Hen-  
ry as without impudence they  
could



could devise, following therein the practices of King Richard the Tyrant, by depraving the father to honour the sonne, so extinguish the love of the people to the young King, by remembring some imperfections of his father, which example both traiterous and unnaturall, who doubts but his heart was ready to follow, whose heart was ready to defend his father, and set nought by his mother (as it is well known) and to procure, yea labour the death of his brother, whom albeit the law and consent of many had condemned upon his owne speeches, yet his earnest endeavour therein did well declare what thoughts can sinke into his unnaturall breast, and what foule shifts he would have made, rather than that his brother should have escaped death, to that end, that he might remove at once both an impeachment to his poisonous purposes, and a surety to the Kings life and estate. To  
this



his end he also practised to dis-  
gust such of the Nobility as  
were like to oppose against his  
mischievous drift, and in such  
sort either to incumber or  
weaken the rest, that they should  
be no impediments to him. In  
the mean time he endeavoured  
to winne the common people both  
by frained courtesie, and by  
loosenesse of life, whereto he gave  
not only licence, but encourage-  
ment and means.

And the better to advance  
his intents, hee deviseth to in-  
candle the Realme, not only with  
outward warre, that with ru-  
mour thereof his dangerous de-  
vils might bee obscured, but  
with inward sedition, by stir-  
ring and nourishing discontent-  
ments among the Nobility, Gen-  
ty, and Commons of the Realm.  
This hee did under pretence of  
such matters as all men desired  
might be redressed more gladly  
than he, but in a more quiet and  
quieted time. but the time see-  
med



med most convenient for him when under the sweet pretence of release and liberty to the people, he might have destroyed the Nobility and Gentry, who are the defence and safety of the people, and so at pleasure have reduced all under his tyrannous Subjection.

Which, how insupportable it would have been, may well be conjectured by his actions already past: What pride & insolence of his men raised up of nought? What instruments had hee in every Shire to worke his purposes, to spread his rumours, to hearken and to carry tales? and those, what flatterers? what spies? how greedily gaping for other mens livings? how vigilant to grope mens thoughts and to pick out some whereof they might complain? and such vile vermine, how deare were they to him? and namely, John Bonham his husband in Wiltshire, Sir Giles Partridge



Partridge his other hand in Gloucestershire, his customer in Wels, Piers Country his minister in Devonshire, besides many he had conditioned minions in Court: what monsters were they? How esteemed they his favour above all mortall respects?

And further, to accomplish his ambitious ends, he devised to make the French King his friend, by bewraying unto him the Kings fortresses beyond the seas, which the late noble King Henry with great charge, courage and glory had brought under his power; which practice was so carried, that no man but such as discerned nothing but did perceive it. And that as well by his often private conference with the French Embassadors & their Secretaries, as by failing to furnish those pieces with necessary supplies, as also by the speeches which himselfe and his servants said abroad, that Bulloine and the fortresses about it were



an unprofitable burthen to the Realme. But for the charge, no man will conceive that he wanted money to keep them, who undertooke so great a charge as the conquest of Scotland, and wasted every day an hundred pound upon his phantasticall building.

Besides, it hath been often heard from his owne communication, how he intended to procure a resignation of the rights of the Kings Majesties sisters, and others who are entitled to the possession of the Crowne, and to have entailed the same upon his owne issue, which when he had effected, (and having the Kings person in his power, the chaine of Sovereignty could not long have tyed him short) he might have atchieved all his ambitious intentions at will.

Wherefore, surely he hath shew put on the person not onely of a robber, and of a murtherer, but of a traitour to the state, since we have evidently discovered both  
hu



his lofty and bloudy minde. It becometh you to joyne in aide with the Lords of his Majesties privie Councell, as in extinguishing a raging fire, as in repelling a cruell enemy: for assuredly we must either weakly yeeld to his rule and command, or else the ambitious author must bee taken away.

In the afternoone of the same day, the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Councell in Guild-hall, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, one from the King & the Lord Protector for a thousand men to be armed for defence of the Kings person, another from the Lords at London for two thousand men to aide them in defence of the Kings person, both parties pretending alike, but both intending nothing less. The Recorder, whose voice accordeth commonly with the Lord Chancellour, did so well set forth the complaints of the Lords against the



Protector, that many were inclinable to favour their side. But one named George Stadlowe, somewhat better advised, stept up, and spake unto them as followeth :

*This businesse (right Honorable Lord Maior, and the residue of this Court) as it is a very high passage of state, so it is worthy of serious consideration, and that upon sudden advice nothing be done or determined therein, lest haply by being serviceable to the designs of other men, whose purposes we know not, we cast ourselves into the throats of danger, which hitherto wee doe not see. Two things I much feare, in case wee afford present aide to the Lords, either of which should cast upon us a bridle rather for stopping a while, than for stopping or stirring too soone or too fast at their incitement : One is the certaine dangers of the City, the other the uncertaine adventure of all the Realme,*



First then, if we adjoyne to the Lords, whether they prevaile or not, we engulph our selves into assured danger; an example whereof I find in Fabian, whose report I intreat you all to observe. In the time of King Henry the third, the Lords in a good cause, for maintenance of divers beneficiall lawes, desired aide of the City against the King. Aide was granted, and the quarrell brought to the arbitrement of the Sword. In this battell the King and his sonne were taken prisoners, & upon their enlargement free pardon was granted not only to the Lords, but to the Citizens of London, which was afterwards confirmed both by oath & by act of Parliament: but what followed? was the displeasure forgotten? No verily, nor ever forgotten during that Kings life: for afterwards the liberties of the City were taken away, strangers were appointed Governours, and the Citizens



zens perpetually vexed, both in their persons & in their estates. So heavie and durable is the wrath of Kings, that Solomon saith, The indignation of the King is death. For it is natural for Princes to uphold their Sovereignty, and to hold it in highest esteeme, & in no case to endure their supreme authority to bee forcably either oppressed or depressed by their subjects. Insomuch as they mortally hate such subjects as have once attempted either to overrule them by power, or to cast any terror upon them. And howsoever they may bee either constrained or content to beare saile for a time, yet are they so sure pay-masters in the end, that few have held out their lives, I will not say prosperously, but safely, who have offered enforcements against their King.

Now touching my fear for the Common-wealth, I much suspect these considerations: I always expect



expect from them some lurking mischief, which the more cunningly it bee kept in, the more dangerously it will breake forth. For albeit there be many hands in this action, yet one is the head, who doubtlesse hath skill to play his owne game; and albeit the pretences given forth are alwaies faire, and for the publike good, yet are the secret intentions commonly ambitious, and on-ly aime at private ends, yea many times the end is worse than the first intent. Because when a subject hath obtained the hand against his Prince, I will not say he will be loth, but doubtlesse it is not safe for him to give over his advantage: wherefore I am of opinion, that for the present, if we will not be so uncourteous as to delay, yet to suspend our giving aide to the Lords for a time.

Upon this advice the Court resolved to arme a hundred horsemen, and foure hundred



foot for defence of the City. To the King they returned answer, that they would be ready upon any necessity to apply all their forces either for his defence, or for his honour. But they intreated him to bee pleased to heare such complaints as were objected against the Lord Protector, before hee assembled forces in the field, which in those tempestuous times, as it could not be done without great danger, so without great cause it should not. To the Lords they answered, that they were ready to joyne with them in any dutifull petition to the King; but to joyne with them in armes, they could not upon the sudden resolve.

The next day the Lords at *London* dispatched a letter to the Lords at *Windsor*, wherein they charged the Protector with many disorders, both in his private actions, and in his manner of government, requiring that he would



would disperse the forces which hee had raised, and withdraw himselfe from the King, and be content to be ordered by justice and reason: That this done they would gladly commune with the rest of the Councell for the surety of the Kings person, and for ordering of his estate; otherwise they would make no other accompt of them, than they might trust to finde cause, and would assuredly charge them according to their demerits.

The King all this time was so farre from governing his Lords, that he was scarce at his own liberty: and considering that the late rebellions had but newly weared themselves into quiet, and fearing new rages among the unstable people, daily threatened, and upon such occasion not unlike to take flame, conceiving also that the confederacy trenched no deeper, or that the only remedy was to seeme so to conceive, dissolved his companies,

L<sup>s</sup>

except



except only his guard, but charged them upon warning to bee ready; so it is most certain, that the troublesome times were a great advantage to the Lords. Had the people bin well settled in subjection, or the Protector a man of spirit or wit, they had bin in danger to have bin undone; but the Protector, in stead of using his authority, sent Secretary *Peter* (who under pretence of gravity, covered much untrustinesse of heart) to the Lords at *London*, with some secret instructions, (sent especially to perswade them) that for a public benefit, all either private guards or unkindnesse might be laid aside. But neither did he returne to *Windsor*, neither was any answer returned from the Lords. After this he wrote two Letters, one in his owne name to the Earle of *Warwicke*; the other in the name of the Lord at *Windsor* to the Lords at *London*, in both which he so weakly complained



complained, expostulated, intreated, yeelded under their hand, as it was sufficient to have breathed courage into any enemy once declared against him.

And indeed, hereupon the Lords forthwith published a Proclamation under the hands of seventeen persons, either for nobility or authority of office well regarded, wherein the causes of such calamities and losses as had lately before happened, not only by inward divisions, which had cost the lives of many thousands of the Kings subjects, and threatned more, but also by the losse of divers pieces beyond the seas, which had bin wonne by great adventure of the late Kings person, and consumption of his treasure, they perceived that the onely root from whence those mischiefes sprung, was the evill government of the Lord Protector, whose pride, covetousnesse and ambition covered only his private



vate ends ; and therefore he was deeply busied in his spacious & specious buildings in the hottest times of war against *France* and *Scotland*, whilest the poore souldiers and servitors of the King were unpaid ; and laboured to make himself strong in all countries, whilest within the Realme lawes, justice, and good order were perverted, provisions for the Forts beyond the Seas neglected, and the Kings subjects by most dangerous divisions (by his meanes either raised or occasioned) much disquieted. That hereupon the Lords of the Councell (for preventing as well present dangers to the Kings person, as the utter subversion of the state of the Realme) concluded to have talked to him quietly, without disturbance to the King or to the people, for reducing him to live within reasonable limits, and for taking order for safety of the Kings person, and preservation of the  
Common



Common-wealth of the Realm,  
and so to have passed over his  
most unnaturall and traitorous  
deservings, without further ex-  
tremities. But he (knowing that  
he was unable to answer for any  
part of his demeanour) began  
forthwith to spread false ru-  
mours, that certaine Lords had  
conspired against the Kings per-  
son; under pretence whereof he  
levied forces in a disordered up-  
more, albeit the treason rested  
in him, and some other his com-  
plices: wherefore (seeing he trou-  
bled the whole Realme for ac-  
complishing his traitorous ends,  
and used the King in his tender  
age for an instrument against  
himselſe, causing him to put his  
hand to many of his owne devi-  
ces, and to speak things tending  
to the destruction of himselſe)  
they desired, and in the Kings  
name charged all subjects not to  
obey any Precepts, Licences,  
or Proclamations, whereunto  
the Protector's hand should bee  
set,



set, albeit hee should abuse the Kings hand and seale unto them, but to quit themselves upon such Proclamation as should proceed from the body of the Conncell, protesting therewith their faithfull hearts to the King, and their loyalty towards the people.

Instantly after the publishing of this Proclamation, the Lords directed their Letters to *Windsor*; one addressed to the King, another to the Protector, the third to the Household, which was openly read. The letter to the Protector was gilded over with many smooth words, intimating faire promises, and full of hope; but the other two did fully and foully set forth his obstinacy, his avarice, his ambition, his rash engagements into warres in the Kings unsettled both age and estate, his negligences, his deceits, and all other insufficiencies mentioned before. Herewith Sir Robert  
*Wingfield*



*Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*, who sowell perswaded the King both of the loyall affection of the Lords towards him, and of their moderate desires against the Protector (who then was in presence) that partly thereby, but chiefly in regard of the turbulent times, the Protector was removed from the Kings person, and a guard set upon him untill the next day, when the Lords at *London* were appointed to be there.

So the next day divers of the Councill rode from *London* to *Windsor*, but the Earle of *Warwicke* rode not with them, for he was a perfect Master of his craft: hee had well learned to put others before him in dangerous actions, and in matters of mischief to be seen to do least, when in very deed all moved from him. He had well learned of the Ape, to take nuts out of the fire with the pawe of the  
Cat.



Cat. These Lords comming before the King did againe runne over their complaints against the Protector, and also under colour of love and duty advise the King to beware of such as were both powerfull, ambitious, mischievous, and rich; affirming that it would bee better surety unto him, if this great authority should be committed to many, who cannot so readily knit in will or in action, as when the whole mannage resideth in one. In the end the Duke of *Somerset* (for hereafter he must be no otherwise called) was committed into their power, and committed to custody in *Beauchamp* tower within the castle.

The next day he was brought to *London*, as if he had been a Captain carried in triumph. He rode through *Holborn* between the Earles of *Southampton* and of *Huntington*, and was followed with Lords and Gentlemen to the number of three hundred mounted



mounted on horseback. At *Holborne* bridge certaine Aldermen attended on horsebacke, and the Citizens (householders) stood with Halberds on all sides of the streets through which he passed. At *Sopherlane* he was received by the Mayor, Sheriffes, Recorder, and divers Knights of especiall note, who with a great train of officers and attendants, bearing Halberds, carried him forthwith to the Tower. All this was to beare in shew, both that the Duke was a dangerous man, and that the common both aide and applause concurred in his restraint.

Forthwith the King was brought to *Hampton Court*, where all things being borne as done well, because nothing was ill taken, seven of the Lords of the Councell, and foure Knights, were appointed by turnes to attend the Kings person. The Lords were the Marquesse of *Northampton*, the Earles of *Warwicke*



*Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the Lord *Russel*, *St. John*, and *Wentworth*: The Knights were these, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Thomas Worth*. As for affaires of State, the government of them was referred to the whole body of the Councell. Soone after the King rode to his house in *Southwarke*, (then called *Suffolke place*) and there dined all. After dinner he rode in great state through the City to *Westminster*, as if the people should bee given to understand, that nothing was diminished either from the safety or glory of the King by imprisonment of the Duke.

And now, when the Duke had breathed a small time in the Tower, certaine Lords of the Councell were sent unto him, who after a short preface in such termes as hate and diffimulation could temper together, remembring how great the am-



he had been between them, and of what continuance; then acknowledging what offices and services hee had done for the Common-wealth, and yet enterlacing some errors and defects, wherewith they seemed to reproach him. Lastly, they presented him certaine Articles, as from the residue of the privie Councell, desiring his present answer, whether hee would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The Articles objected against him were these.

1. That hee tooke upon him the office of Protector, upon expresse condition, that he should doe nothing in the Kings affaires, but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them.

2. That contrary to this condition he did hinder justice, and subvert lawes of his own authority, as well by letters as by other command.

3. That



3. That he caused divers persons arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, man-slaughter and felony, so be discharged, against the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme.

4. That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty affaires of the King under his own writing and seale.

5. That he communed with Embassadors of other Realms alone of the weighty matters of the Realme.

6. That he would taunt & reprove divers of the Kings most honourable Councillers for declaring their advice in the kings weighty affaires against his opinion, sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in counsell, and sometimes that he needed not to open weighty matters to them, and that if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7. That against law he held  
a Court



a Court of Request in his house, and did enforce divers to answer there for their freehold and goods, and did determine of the same.

8. That being no officer, without the advice of the Council, or most part of them, he did dispose offices of the Kings gift for money, grant leases, and wards, and presentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gave Bishopricks, and made sales of the Kings lands.

9. That he commanded Alchymie & Multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the Kings coine.

10. That divers times hee openly said, that the Nobility and Gentry were the onely cause of dearth: whereupon the people rose to reforme matters of themselves.

11. That against the mind of the whole Council hee caused Proclamation to be made concerning Enclosures: whereupon the



the people made diuers insurrections, and destroyed many of the Kings subjects.

12. That hee sent forth a Commission with Articles annexed, concerning Enclosures, Commons, High-wayes, Cottages, and such like matters, giuing the Commissioners authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme were subverted, and much rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered Rebels to assemble, and lye armed in camp against the Nobility and Gentry of the Realme, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That he did comfort and encourage diuers Rebels, by giuing them mony, and by promising them fees, rewards, and services.

15. That hee caused a Proclamation to be made against law, and in fauour of the Rebels, that none of them should be vexed



taxed or sued by any for their offences in their rebellion.

16. That in time of rebellion he said, that hee liked well the actions of the Rebels, and that the avarice of Gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to dye, than to perish for want.

17. That he said, the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reforme Enclosures and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reforme them themselves.

18. That after declaration of the defaults of Bulloine, and the pieces there by such as did surviue them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the Kings pieces of New-haven and Blacknesse to be furnished with men and provision, albeit he was advertised of the defaults, and advised thereto by the Kings Councell, whereby the French King was emboldened



to attempt upon them.

20. That hee would neither give authority nor suffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to suppress Rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to speake the Rebels faire, and use them gently.

21. That upon the fifth of October the present yeere at Hampton Court, for defence of his owne private causes, he procured seditious bills to be written in counterfeite hands, and secretly to be dispersed into diuers parts of the Realme, beginning thus, Good people; intending thereby to raise the Kings subjects to rebellion and open warre.

22. That the Kings priuie Councell did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reforme his government; but he hearing of their assembly, declared by his letters in diuers places that they were high Traitors to the King.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the King as to other



young Lords attending his presence, that the Lords at London intended to destroy the King, and desired the King never to forget but to revenge it; and required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, with intent to make sedition and discord betweene the King and his Nobles.

24. That at divers times and places he sayd, the Lords of the Councell at London intend to kill me, but if I dye the King shall dye, and if they famish mee they shall famish him.

25. That of his owne head he removed the King so suddenly from Hampton Court to Windsor, without any provision there made, that hee was thereby not only in great feare, but cast into a dangerous disease.

26. That by his letters hee caused the Kings people to assemble in great numbers in armour, after the manner of warre, to his aid and defence.

M

27 That



27. That he caused his servants and friends at Hampton Court and Windsore to be appa-  
relled in the Kings armour, when  
the Kings servants and guard  
went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly  
to Fjernsey and Wales, and laid  
posthorses, men, and a boate  
that purpose.

Now albeit there is little  
doubt but that some of these Ar-  
ticles were meerly devised, o-  
thers enlarged or wrested, or o-  
therwise inforced by odious in-  
terpretation, yet the Duke, being  
of base gold and fearing the  
touch, subscribed with his owne  
hand, that hee did acknowledge  
his offences contained in them,  
and humbly upon his knees sub-  
mitted himselfe to the Kings  
mercy: That in like manner hee  
entreated the Lords to bee a  
meanes to the King, that hee  
would conceive that his offen-  
ces did proceed rather from  
negligence, rashnesse, or other  
indif-



indiscretion, than from any malicious thought tending to treason; and also that he would take some gracious way with him, his wife and children, not according to extremity of lawes, but after his great clemency and mercy. *Written with my owne hand 23. December, Anno tertio Edwardi Regis.*

To this I make no other defence, but intreat the Reader not to condemne him for perishing so weakly, and for that he who should have lost his life to preserve his honour, cast away both his life and honour together. Assuredly, he was a man of a feeble stomacke, unable to concoct any great fortune prosperous or adverse. But as the judgement of God, and malice of a man concur often in one act, although it bee easie to discern between them; so is it little to be marvelled, that hee who thirsted after his brothers bloud, should finde others to thirst after his. Not-

M 2      with-



withstanding for that present his bloud was respited, but hee was stripped of his great offices of being Protector, Treasurer and Marshall, lost all his goods, and neere two thousand pounds in land, in which estate if he had continued, the longer hee had lived the more punishment hee should endure: Herewith it was scoffingly said, that *he had eaten the Kings Goose, and did then disgorge the feathers.*

After this hee sent Letters to the Lords of the Councell, wherein he acknowledged himselfe much favoured by them, in that they had brought his cause to be fineable, which although it was to him importable, yet as he did never intend to contend with them, nor in any action to justifie himselfe, as well for that he was none of the wisest, and might easily erre, as for that it is scarce possible for any man in great place to beare himselfe, that all his  
actions



actions in the eye of justice shall be blamelesse; so hee did then submit himselfe wholly to the Kings mercy and their discretions for some moderation, desiring them to conceive, that what hee did amisse was rather through rudenesse, and for want of judgement, than from any malicious meaning, and that hee was therefore ready both to doe and suffer what they would appoint. Finally, hee did againe most humbly upon his knees entreat pardon and favour; and they should ever finde him so lowly to their Honours, and obedient to their orders, as hee would thereby make amends for his former follies.

These subjections, objections, dejections of the Duke made a heavenly harmony in his enemies eares; but they wrought such compassion with the King, that forthwith he was released out of the Tower, his fines  
M 3 discharged,



discharged, his goods and lands restored, except such as had bin given away, either the malice of the Lords being somewhat appeased, or their credit not of sufficient strength to resist: Within a short time after he was entertained and feasted by the King with great shew of favour, and sworn againe of the Privie Councell, at which time between him and the Lords perfect amity was made, or else a dissembling hate. And that all might appeare to be knit up in a comickall conclusion, the Dukes daughter was afterwards joyned in marriage to the Lord *Lisle*, sonne and heire to the Earle of *Warwicke*, and the Earle also was made Lord Admirall of *England*; yet many doubted whether the Earle retained not some secret offence against the Duke, which if he did, it was most cunningly suppressed; doubtlesse, of all his vertues, he made best use of dissimulation: And as this  
friendship



friendship was drawne together by feare on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than was the feare.

And thus the second act ended of the Tragedy of the Duke: the third shall follow in the proper place.

In the meane time the Earle of *Warwicke* (for what mischievous contrivance it was not certainly knowne, but conceived to bee against the Duke) joyned to him the Earle of *Arundel* late Lord Chamberlaine, and the Earle of *Southampton* sometimes Lord Chancellour, men of their owne nature circumspect and slow, but at that time discountenanced and discontent, whom therefore the Earle of *Warwicke* singled, as fittest for his purpose. Many secret conferences they had at their severall houses, which often held the greatest part of the night. But they, accustomed to afford at other times either si-

M. 4. lence



lence or short assent to what he did propose, did then fall off and forsake him, procuring thereby danger to themselves, without doing good to any other. For when the Earle of *Warwicke* could by no meanes draw them to his desires, he found meanes that both of them were discharged from the Councell, & commanded to their houses. Against the Earle of *Arundel* objections were framed, that he took away bolts and lockes at *Westminster*, and gave away the Kings stuffe. He was fined at twelve thousand pounds, to bee paid a thousand pound yeerly. But doubtlesse the Earle of *Warwicke* had good reason to suspect, that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose, would not want the heart to oppose against it.

During these combats among the Nobility, many popular insurrections were assaiied: One *Bell* was put to death at *Tyborne*.



borne, for moving a new rebellion in *Suffolk* and in *Essex*: he was a man nittily needy, and therefore adventrous, esteemed but an idle fellow, untill hee found opportunity to shew his rashnesse. Divers like attempts were made in other places, but the authors were not so readily followed by the people as others had been before, partly, because multitudes doe not easily move, but chiefly because misadventures of others in like attempts had taught them to bee more warily advised. About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one act was made against spreading of Prophecies, the first motive of rebellions; and another against unlawfull Assemblies, the first apparent acting of them. But for feare of new tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen charged to retire to their country habitations, being furnished

M 5 with



with such forces & commissions as were held sufficient to hold in & bridle either the malice or rage of reasonlesse people; yea, so great grew the doubt of new insurrections, that Trinity Term did not hold, lest Gentlemen should by that occasion bee drawne out of the country, where they were esteemed to do good service, by keeping the Commons from commotions. All these comotions seemed to be portended by moving of the earth in divers places of *Sussex*.

The affaires of *England* beyond the Seas all this time were carried with variable success: Sir *Thomas Cheynie* was sent to the Emperour to treat with him, that his forces might joyne with the forces of *England* against the common enemies of them both, according to the Articles formerly concluded. These Articles had bin well observed for a time, especially against the *French*: but afterwards the Emperour



perour, being diverted about other preparations, and therewith much solicited by the *Scots* not to be a helpe to ruine their Kingdome, fell by degrees from the King of *England*, filling his Embassadours with empty hopes at the first, wherein also he daily fainted and failed in the end.

In *France* the King placed the *Rhenegrave* with divers Regiments of *Almaines*, *Lancequenots*, and certaine Ensignes of *French*, to the number of foure or five thousand at the Towne of *Morguison*, midway betweene *Bulloine* and *Calice*, to impeach all entercourse between those two places: Whereupon the King of *England* caused all the strangers that had served this yeere against the Rebels, to the number of two thousand, to be transported to *Calice*. To them were adjoynd three thousand *English*, under the command of *Francis Earle of Huntington*,  
and



and Sir *Edward Hastings* his brother, to dislodge the *French*, or otherwise to annoy them. But the *French* perceiving that the troubles in *England* were perfectly appeased, and that the King thereby was much strengthened in his estate, for that the vicious humours against him were either corrected or spent; finding also that hee daily grew rather into admiration than love, as well for that it was apparent, that hee had so well improved that little stocke which his father left, as hee was like to prove a thriver in the end: Also weary in maintaining warres with *Scotland*, as well in regard of the charge, as for that his people were nothing desirous of service in that distant country. Lastly, having tryed as well the strength as courtesie of the *English Nation*, and doubtfull of the estates of the Empire and of *Spaine*, by whom not onely the



the wings of his Kingdome had been clipped on every side, but the whole body thereof dangerously attempted; he resolved to fasten peace with *England* if he could.

Hereupon hee dispatched to the *English* Court *Guidolti* an *Italian* borne in *Florence*, who made many overtures to the Lords of the Councell, but all as from the Constable of *France*; and espying with a nimble eye that matters of Councell were chiefly swayed by the Earle of *Warwicke*, by great gifts and greater hopes, hee wrought him to bee appliable to his desires. In the end it was concluded, that foure Embassadours should bee sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and foure from the *French* King, to treat with them: That the *English* Commissioners should come to *Guisnes*, and the *French* to *Arde*, and that their meeting should be chiefly at *Guisnes*. The  
*English*



*English* yeelding to all with sincerity of minde, the *French* accepting all, but with intentions reserved to themselves. The Lords appointed by the *English* were *John Earle of Bedford*, *William Lord Paget*, *Sir William Peter*, and *Sir John Mason*, Secretaries of State. On the *French* side were appointed *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chastilion*, *Guillant de Mortier*, and *Rochetele de Dasse*. In short time after the Earle of *Warwicke* was made Lord great Master, another feather to his mounting minde.

The day wherein the *English* Embassadours arrived at *Calice*, *Guidolti* resorted unto them with a letter from *Monsieur Rochpot*, whereby hee signified that the *French* intended not to come to *Arde*, but desired that the *English* would goe to *Bulloine*, and that the meeting might bee besides the Towne. For this hee alledged, that hee



was so weakly disposed in health, that hee could not travell farre, and that he being Governour of *Picardy*, and *Chastilion of New-baven*, they might not depart such distance from their charge. And further, that there must be much waste of time if the *English* should lye at *Guifnes*, and the *French* at *Ardes*, and that the equality would be more, and the dishonour to one of the sides lesse, if the enterview should be upon the Frontiers, than if one part should be drawne into the Territory of the other.

Upon this rubbe the *English* Embassadours thought fit to demurre, and so sent into *England* to receive directions from the Lords of the Councell. They againe referred the matter wholly to the judgement of the Embassadours, affirming that it was a circumstance not much to be stood upon, in case it were not upon some finenesse, but for ease and commodity of them and their



their traine, which indeed they might better finde neere *Bulloine* than at *Ardes*, in case also they could discerne no deep inconvenience which might hinder the good issue of the good businesse in hand, which they esteemed sufficient, if in substance it might be effected, albeit in all points they had not so much of their mindes as they then desired, and as at another time they would expect; and so the *English* Commissioners went to *Bulloin*, and the *French* came to one of their Forts nearest to *Bulloine*:

Not long before the Emperour had been assailed by the King of *England*, to aide him in defence of *Bulloine* against the *French*, which he expressly refused, alledging that hee was not bound so to doe by conditions of the league, for that *Bulloine* was a piece of new conquest acquired by the *English* since the league was made. Then the King  
offered



offered to yeeld the Towne absolutely into his hands, in case hee would maintaine it against the *French*; which offer also he refused to accept. At the arrivall of the *English* Embassadors the souldiers were sharply assailed with wants: There was not one drop of beere in the Towne, the bread and bread-corne sufficed not for sixe dayes. Hereupon the souldiers entred into proportion, and to give them example, the Lord *Clinton*, being Lord Deputy, limited himselfe to a loose a day. The King was indebted in those parts above fourteen thousand pounds, besides for the Earle of *Huntingtons* numbers, w<sup>ch</sup> were about 1300. foot, besides also the increase daily rising: for the monthly pay of *English* & strangers amounted to sixe thousand pounds, besides allowance for officers. Hereof the band of horsemen out of *Germany* tooke little lesse than eight hundred pounds the moneth,



moneth, and the *Almaines* on foot foure thousand pounds, accounting the guilder at three shillings foure pence; but accounting it more, as without a higher valuation little service, & haply some mischief might be expected, the monethly pay to strangers amounted higher. Hereby a great error was discovered, in that the strangers for defence of *Bulloine* were of greater strength than were the *English*.

Now the *English* Commissioners, having first procured some reliefe both for victuals and pay, prepared a tent without the Towne for meeting with the *French*. But they erected a house on the further side of the water within their owne Territory, in a maner half way between their Fort and the Towne. The *English* perswaded the *French* to surcease their building, pretending but for their fantasies it was not necessarie, because neither their treaty was like to  
continue



continue long, neither was it by  
solemne meeting that the busi-  
nesse in hand must be effected.  
But in truth they feared, lest if  
peace should not follow, the  
*French* might in short time, ei-  
ther with filling or massing the  
house, or else by fortifying, make  
such a piece as might annoy  
the Haven or the Towne. Not-  
withstanding the *French* not  
onely proceeded, but refused  
any other place of interview.

At their first meeting much  
time was spent in ceremony of  
salutation. Then the commissi-  
ons were read: then *Monsieur*  
*de Mortier* in a sharp speech de-  
clared, that the *French* King  
their Master had upon just  
grounds entred the warre for re-  
covery of his right, and defence  
of his allies, yet was hee well  
minded for an honourable  
peace, so as the things for which  
the warre began might bee  
brought to some reasonable ap-  
pointment; and hearing of the  
like



like disposition of the King of *England*, he had sent them to treat of those affaires, nothing doubting but that the *English* would accord to the restitution of *Bulloine*, and other pieces of their late conquest, which so long as they should keep, so long they may bee assured the warre would continue. Hee further added, that *Bulloine* was but a bare ruinous Towne, without Territory or any other commodity to ballance the charge of defending it against the power of *France*. Lastly, hee said, there should want no good will in them to bring matters to good appointment, hoping to finde the like affection in the *English*.

After that the *English* Commissioners had conferred a while, the Lord *Paget* answered, that the causes of the warre both with them and their Allies (whom hee tooke to be the *Scots*) being just and honourable,



nourable, the Towne of *Bul-  
laine*, and other pieces subdued  
as well by their late great Ma-  
ster against them, as by the King  
their then Master against their  
Allies, were acquired by just  
title of victory, and therefore  
in keeping of them no injury  
was offered, either to the  
*French* King, or to the *Scots*.  
But the further declaration he  
left off untill their next meet-  
ing, because both the time was  
spent, and the tide summo-  
ned them to depart. Touching  
the good inclination of the  
King their Master, hee had  
declared it well by sending  
them thither, in whom they  
should finde such good con-  
formity, that if good successe  
ensued not, the fault should  
bee (which they expected not)  
in the *French*. Nothing else was  
done saving a surcease of hosti-  
lity concluded for fifteen dayes,  
which was proclaimed in both  
the Frontiers.



At the next meeting the Lord *Paget* spent much speech in setting forth the King of *Englands* title to *Bulloine*, and to his debts and pension from the *French* King, with all arrerages, together with the justice of his warre against the *Scots*. The *French* were as earnest in maintaining the contrary, wanting no words whatsoever their reasons were. For betweene great Princes, the greatest strength carrieth the greatest reason. At the last *Monsieur de Mortier* roundly said, that to cut off all contentions of words, hee would propose two meanes for peace: That for all old matters of pensions, debts and arrerages, the *English* should make white bookes, and never mention them more, but for *Bulloine* to set the higher value, or else (said hee) let all quarrels remain, so as your right may be reserved to claime, and ours to defend; and let us  
speake



speake frankly of some recompence for *Bulloine*. As for the *Scottish* Queene ( for this had beene also mentioned before) our King is resolved to keepe her for his sonne, and therefore wee desire you to speake thereof no more, but of what other point you please, so as wee may draw shortly to an end.

The Lord *Paget* answered for the other Commissioners, that they had greatest reason to desire a speedy end, but the matters whereupon they stood were of greater importance than to be determined upon the sudden: for, said he, you may make doubts as you please, but if the debt to our King be not just, being confessed, judged, sworne, & by many treaties confirmed, we know not what may be deemed just; neither is it a summe to be slenderly regarded, being 2000000 crownes cleere debt, besides 12000 crownes resting in dispute. The justice of the warres



warres against *Scotland* hee maintained as well in regard of breach of treaties with themselves, as for that, contrary to their comprehension in the last treaty of *France*, they had invaded *England*. In these enter-courses the whole afternoon being spent, it was agreed, that both parties should advise upon such matters as had been propounded, untill the next meeting.

But the *French*, either having or supposing that they had advantage over the *English*, partly by reason of their firme intelligence in the *English* Court, and partly, because they found the *English* Commissioners much yeelding to their desires, as first in coming into *France*, then to *Bulloine*, lastly, to a house of their owne erecting, began to be stiffe, and almost intractable, sharply pressing both for speedy resolution, and short times of meetings. But *Guidolzi* com-



ually travelled to draw both parties to conformity, the *French* being willing to be entreated by their friend to their most disguised desires. *Guidolts* (instead of the *Queene of Scots*) propounded that the *French Kings* daughter should be joynted in marriage to the King of *England*, affirming that if it were a dry peace, it would hardly be durable; but hereto the *English* gave no inclinable eare. Then he delivered seventeen reasons in writing, for which he said it was necessary for the *English* to conclude a peace. The *English* demanded how many reasons he had for the *French*: He answered, that he had also as many reasons for them, which he intended likewise to deliver in writing.

At the next meeting the *French* shewed themselves (as before) peremptory and precise, standing stiffely upon their own conditions, which they had, they

N

said.



saide, no commission to exceed; and therefore they refused to treat either of the pension or debt demanded by the *English*, and declared themselves rather desirous than willing to breake off the treaty. The *English* answered, that before their coming, *Guidolti* had declared from the *French* King, that so as *Bulloine* might be rendered, all that was owing from him to the King of *England* should be paid, which *Guidolti*, being present, affirmed to be true. Well, saide they, what our King told *Guidolti* we know not, but to us he hath given no other commission than you have heard, which is no case we must exceed. As for the pension whereof you speake, think you that a King of *France* will be tributary to any? No, assure you hee will not: and touching the debt, because the King of *England* gave occasion to the warres, wasted the *French* Kings country, and thereby cau-



fed him to expend such summes of mony as exceeded the debt, he tooke himselfe to be acquitted thereof.

Hereto the *English* answered, that the *French* King might take matters as he pleased, but in honour, justice and conscience no debt was more due, and the warres being made for deniall thereof, he could not be for that cause acquitted: That the pension was also granted upon divers causes, both weighty and just; and amongst other, by reason of the King of *Englands* uncontrollable title to *Normandy*, *Gascoine*, and other parts of *France*. Here they were interrupted by *Monsieur Rochpot*, who brake forth into warme words, and was againe as warmly answered, but the *French* would nothing move from their owne overtures, which they stood upon by way of conclusions.

At the last, the *English* said  
N 2 that



that they might doe well to report their differences to their Masters on both sides, that their pleasures might therein be knowne. Hereto the *French* answered, that they knew their Kings pleasure so well, that if they should send to him againe, he would and might think them of small discretion, and herewith they offered to break. The *English* told them that if they would breake they might, but they intended to conclude nothing untill they had further instructions from *England*, which they would procure as soone as they could. To this the *French* did easily incline.

These matters advertised into *England*, much troubled the Councell, and the rather, for that the Earle of *Warwick* was at that time retired, pretending much infirmity in his health. Hereupon many sinister surmises began to spring up among some of the Councell, partly probable



and part haply devised : for as they knew not whether he were more dangerous present or away, so, as the nature of all fear is, they suspected that which happened to be the worst. From hence divers of the Councel began in this maner to murmur against him :

*What, said they, is he never sick but when affaires of greatest weight are in debating? or wherefore else doth he withdraw himselfe from the company of those who are not well assured of his love? Wherefore doth he not now come forth & openly over-rule, as in other matters hee is accustomed? Would he have us imagine by his absence that he alteth nothing? Or knowing that all moveth from him, shall we not think that he seeketh to enjoy his owne ends, without bearing blame for any event? Goe to then, let him come forth and declare himself: for it is better that hee should find fault with all things whilest they are doing, than condemne*



*all things when they are done*  
With those and the like speeches he came to counsell more ordinary than before, and at last partly by his reasons, and partly by his authority, peace with France was esteemed so necessary, that new instructions were sent to the *English* Ambassadors, according whereto peace was concluded upon these Articles:

1. *That all titles & claims on the one side, and defences on the other should remaine to the other party as they were before.*

2. *That the fault of one man (except hee were unpunished) should not breake the peace.*

3. *That prisoners should be delivered on both sides.*

4. *That Bulloine and other pieces of the new conquest, with all the ordnance, except such as had been brought in by the English, should be delivered to the French within sixe moneths after the peace proclaimed.*

5. *That*



5. That ships of merchandize might safely passe, and ships of warre be called in.

6. That the French should pay for the same two hundred thousand crownes of the summe, every crown valued at sixe shillings eight pence, within three dayes after the delivery of the Town, and two hundred thousand like crownes more upon the fifth day of August then next ensuing.

7. That the English should make no new warres upon Scotland, unlesse new occasions should be given.

8. That if the Scots razed Lords & Dunghill, the English should raze Roxborough and Aymouth, and no fortification to be afterwards made in any of those places.

To these Articles the French King was sworne at Amiens, the King of England at London, Commissioners being especially appointed to take their oaths. And for further assurance, fixe

N 4 Hostages



Hostages were delivered for the *French* at *Ardes*, and six for the *English* at *Guisnes*, and it was agreed, that at the delivery of *Bul-loin* the *English* Hostages should be discharged, and that upon the payment of the first two hundred thousand crownes three of the *French* Hostages should be discharged, and other three upon payment of the last two hundred thousand crownes. In the peace the Emperour was comprised, in case hee would consent: and further, to cut off future contentions, Commissioners were appointed both by the *English* and *French*, to make certaine the limits betweene both Territories. Other Commissioners were appointed summarily to expedite and determine all matters of Piracy and Depredations between the subjects of both Kingdomes, whereby many had not onely lived, but thrived many yeeres before.



So the Lord *Clinton*, Governour of *Bulloin*, having received his Warrant, discharged all his men, except eighteen hundred, and with them issued out of the Town, and delivered it to *Monsieur Chastilion*, having first received of him the sixe *English* Hostages, and an acquittance for delivery of the Towne, and safe conduct for his passage to *Calice*. These eightene hundred men were afterwards placed upon the Frontiers betweene the Emperour and the *English*. Soone after the first payment of money was made by the *French* to certaine *English* Commissioners, whereupon three of their Hostages were discharged, the other three, namely, *Count de Anguien* next heire to the Crowne of *France* after the Kings children, the *Marquesse de Meaux* brother to the *Scottish* Queene, and *Montmorencie* the Constables sonne, who at that time chiefly

N 5 guided



guided the affaires of *France*, came into *England*. They were honourably accompanied, and with great estate brought to *London*, where every of them kept house by himselfe.

Of the monies of the first payment, ten thousand pounds was appointed for *Calice*, eight thousand pounds for *Ireland*, ten thousand pounds for the North, and two thousand pounds for the Navie; the residue was carefully laid up in the Tower. Likewise of the second payment (whereupon the Hostages aforenamed returned into *France*) eight thousand pounds was appointed for *Calice*, five thousand pounds for the North, ten thousand pounds was imployed for increase towards outward payments, certain persons undertaking that the mony should be doubled every\* moneth; the rest was safely lodged in the Tower.

And now it remained that the chiefe actors in this peace (whatsoever

\* Or haply  
yeere. .



soever their aimes were) must be both honoured and enriched with great rewards; and first *Guidolti*, the first mover of the treaty, was recompenced with Knighthood, a thousand crownes reward, a thousand crownes pension, and two hundred and fifty crownes pension to his son. The Earle of *Warwick* was made generall Warden of the North, had a thousand markes land granted to him, and an hundred horsemen of the Kings charge. Master *Herbert* his chiefe instrument was made President of *Wales*, and had a grant of five hundred pound lands: and thus whether immoderate favours breed first unthankfulnesse, and afterwards hate, and therewith ambitious desires, or whether God so punisheth immoderate affections, it often happeneth that men are prone to raise those most, who worke their ruine in the end. Also the Lord *Clinton*, who had bin Deputy of *Bulloin*,  
was



was made Lord Admirall of *England*. The Captaines and Officers were rewarded with lands, leases, offices and annuities; the ordinary souldiers, having all their pay, and a moneths pay over, were sent into their countries, and great charge given that they should be well observed, untill they were quietly settled at home. The light horimen and men at armes were put under the Marquesse of *Northampton* Captaine of the Pensioners. All the guard of *Burloin* were committed to the Lord Admirall. The chiefe Captaines with six hundred ordinaries were sent to strengthen the Frontiers of *Scotland*. Lastly, strangers were dispatched out of the Realme, who after some idle expence of their monies and time, were likest to be forward either in beginning, or in maintaining disorders.

Presently after this agreement of peace, the Duke of *Bruns-*



*Brunswicke* sent to the King of *England*, to offer his service in the Kings warres with ten thousand men of his Band, and to entreat a marriage with the Lady *Mary* the Kings eldest sister. Answer was made touching his offer of aide, that the Kings warres were ended: And touching marriage with the Lady *Mary*, that the King was in speech for her marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugall*, which being determined without effect, hee should favourably be heard. Upon this also the Emperours Embassadour did expostulate with the King, that he had broken his league with the Emperour. To this the King answered, that because the Emperour failed in his performances, the King was enforced to provide for himselfe. The Embassadour, desirous (as it seemed) to make abreach, demanded boldly, that the Lady *Mary* should have the free exercise of the Masse.

This



This did the King not only constantly deny, but hereupon Sermons were increased at Court, and order taken that no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first hee should preach before him; and in short time after, under pretence of preparing for sea matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the seas. And further, because the Emperour made divers strait lawes against those of the Religion, Merchants were charged to forbear their trade into *Flanders* so much as they could, so as it appeares, had some of the *English* Nobility been either lesse powerfull, or more faithfull than they were, the King had eares enow and hands enow, as well at home as among good friends abroad, either to have maintained warres against the *French*, or to have reduced them to a more honourable peace.

Warres being thus at good appoint-



appointment, peaceable business was more seriously regarded. And whereas an Ambassador arrived from *Gostave* King of *Sweden*, to knit amity with the King for entercourse of Merchants, at last these Articles were concluded:

1. *That if the King of Sweden sent Bullion into England, hee might carry away English commodities without custome.*

2. *That he should carry Bullion to no other Prince.*

3. *That if he sent Ozimus, Steele, Copper, &c. hee should pay custome for English commodities as an English man.*

4. *That if he sent other merchandize, he should have free entercourse, paying custome as a stranger.*

The mint was set to worke, so as it gained twenty foure thousand pounds yeerly, to the King, which should beare his charges in *Ireland*, and bring ten thousand pounds to the treasure.

Four



Foure hundred men were sent into *Ireland*, and charge given, that the Lawes of *England* should there be administred, and the mutinous bee severely suppressed. Verily it may seeme strange, that among all the horrible hurries in *England*, *Ireland* was then almost quiet. But besides that, the King drew much people from thence for service in his warres, who haply would not have remained quiet at home. The Governors at that time were men of such choice, that neither the Nobility disdained to endure their command, nor the inferiour sort were suppressed to supply their wants.

Further, twenty thousand pound weight was appointed to be made so much baser, as the King might gain thereby an hundred and sixty thousand pounds. Agreement was also made with *York*, Master of one of the mints, that he should receive the profit of all the Bullion which himselfe should



should bring, and pay the Kings debts to the value of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and remaine accountable for the rest, paying fixe shillings eight pence the ounce, untill the exchange were equall in *Flanders*, and afterwards fixe shillings eight pence : And further, that he should declare his bargaine to any that should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when the King should please : That for this the King should give him fifteen thousand pounds in prest, and licence to transport eight thousand pounds beyond the Seas, to abase the exchange. Herewith the base monies formerly coined were cried downe.

Now it is certaine, that by reason of the long hostility which *England* held against *Scotland* and *France*, peace was not so hardly concluded as kept. But albeit occasions of breach were often offered, yet the judgement and moderation



tion of both parts sufficed either to avoid or appease them. The Bishop of *Glasco* comming into *England* without safe conduct, was taken prisoner. The *French* Embassadour made means to the King for his discharge, but answer was made, that the *Scots* had no such peace with the *English*, that they might passe without safe conduct. This was not denied by the Master of *Erskine*, whereupon the Archbishop was retained prisoner, but after a short time remitted to his liberty. After this the *Queene Dowager of Scotland*, going from *France* to her country, passed through *England*, but the *French* Embassadour first obtained her safe conduct. Shee arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there encountered by divers of the *English* Nobility of highest quality and estimation, as well for doing her honour, as for that having such pledges shee need not feare. At *London* she sojourned



ned foure dayes, being lodged in the Bishops Palace, and defrayed at the charge of the City; in which time shee was royally feasted by the King at Whitehall. At her departure shee was attended out of the City with all ceremonies pertaining to state, the Sheriffes of every Shire through which she passed received her, accompanied with the chiefe Gentlemen of the country, as also they conveighed her from one Shire to another (making alwaies provision for her entertainment) untill she came into the borders of *Scotland*.

The Earle of *Maxwell* came with a strong hand to the borders of *England*, against certaine families of *Scots*, who had yeelded to the King of *England*, and the Lord *Dacre* brought his forces to their aide; in which service his valour and discretion did equally appeare. For albeit the Gentlemen of those families did often skirmish with the  
Earles



Earles men, and slew many of them; yet were they never therein aided by the *English*, neither would they assaile him upon any advantage: But when any of these Gentlemen were distressed by the Earle, the *English* did then encounter him by armes. Generally, the *English* would not offer to offend the *Scots*, but onely in defending their friends.

About this time the *French* King sent *Monsieur Lansat* to request of the King of England, that the fishing of *Tweede*, *Edrington*, the debarable ground, and the *Scottish* Hottages which had been sent into *England* in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, might be restored to the *Scots*, and that the *English* prisoners, who were bound to pay their ransomes before the peace, should not bee comprised in the conditions thereof. The King sent *Sir William Pickering* to declare to the *French*



*French King*, that to the last demand hee agreed without exception; & albeit he had title to the places required, yet he was content, as well for them as for other demands, to performe whatsoever should be agreed on by Commissioners on both sides: So Commissioners were appointed, and the matters settled in quiet agreement.

In the meane time the King sent new supply of forces and other provisions into the North parts of the Realme, whereupon the *French King* sent a Navie of an hundred and sixty saile into *Scotland*, laden with graine, powder, and ordnance. Of these, sixteen of the greatest perished upon the coast of *Ireland*, two charged with Artillery, and fourteen with graine, the residue so shaken and torne, that it gave a maine checke to their further designs: but because many saved themselves in the harbours of *Ireland*, the King sent thither



thither foure ships, foure barks, foure pinnaces, & twelve victuallers. These possessed themselves of three Havens, two on the South side towards *France*, and one towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed generall Lievtenant, who fortified those Havens, and drew downe the chiefeft forces of the country towards the South parts thereof; and thus even in peace either of the Kings so vigilantly observed every motion of the other, as if they had lived upon the alarmes. The will of friends is best assured when they have no power to doe hurt.

In *France* a difference did rise about a place called *Fines wood*, whether it pertained to the *English*, or to the *French*. On the *French* part eight hundred men assembled at armes upon this quarrell, on the *English* a thousand. But the readinesse of the *English* to fight moved the *French* to abstaine from  
blowes.



blowes, and to permit the *English* to enjoy their ground. Hereupon the King fortified *Calice* and his other pieces in *France*, in such sort as they had never been in like condition of defence. And whereas one *Stewart* a *Scot* was apprehended in *England*, and imprisoned in the Tower, for intending to poyson the young *Queene* of *Scots*, the King (as well to manifest his justice, as his love and respect towards the young *Queene*) delivered him to the *French* King upon the frontiers of *Calice*, to be justiced by him at his pleasure.

And yet this advice was not approved by many: for albeit it be both honourable and just, that they who offend against their proper Prince, should be delivered to him to be punished, yet it is growne out of common use. And for this cause this condition is often expressed in leagues, That the subjects of one Prince should



should bee delivered by the other, in case they be required. The contrary custome may happily hold reasonable in ordinary offences, in which case the Scripture forbiddeth to deliver a slave to his angry Lord: but in grievous and inhumane crimes, in such as overthrow the foundation of state, in such as shake the surety of humane society, I conceive it more fit that offenders should bee remitted to their Prince, to be punished in the place where they have offended.

But of all other, the Kings amity with the Emperour was least assured, being as fullest both of practice and distrust, in danger every houre to dissolve. Certaine Ships were appointed in the *Low-countries* with men and furniture fitable to the attempts, to transport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by stealth out of *England* to *Antwerp*. Divers of the Gentlemen



Gentlemen departed thither before, and certain Shipheres, as they are termed, were discovered to view the *English* coast. Hereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with forces into *Essex* where the Lady then lay, and besides the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with two hundred men, the Lord *Purvis* Seale with other two hundred, & Master *Sentlegier* with four hundred men more to several coasts upon the sea; divers of the Kings Ships were addressed to bee in readinesse for the sea. Master *Chamberlaine*, Ambassadour for the *Queene of Hungary* in the *Low-countries*, advertised by his letters, that it was intended by this means to raise an outward warre to joyne with some sedition within doors, & that the *Queen of Hungary* had openly said, that the Shipheres were towards, and for feare of one Gentleman durst not proceed in any attempt upon these either  
O dangers



dangers or fears the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peter* were sent to the Lady *Mary*, who after some conference brought her to the Lord Chancellours house at *Lyes* in *Essex*, and from thence to *Hunsdon*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her how long he had permitted her the use of the Masse, and perceiving by her letters how unmoveable shee was, hee was resolved no longer to endure it, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity within short time. To this shee answered, that her soule was Gods, and touching her faith, as shee could not change, so shee would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to constrain her faith, but to restrain the outward profession thereof, in regard of the danger the example might draw. After some other like interchange of words



ches, the Lady was appointed to remaine with the King, but Doctor *Mallet* her Chaplaine was committed prisoner to the Fleet: and almost herewith arrived an Embassadour from the Emperor, with a menacing message of warre, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary* should not bee admitted the free exercise of the Masse. The King presently advised with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter*, who gave their opinion, that to give licence to sinne was sinne, but to connive at sinne might be allowed, in case it were neither too long, nor without hope of reformation. Then was answer given to the Embassadour, that the King would send to the Emperour within a moneth or two to give him what satisfaction should be fit.

In the meane time, the Councell considering how prejudiciall it would be to the Realme, if



the subjects should loſe their trade in *Flanders*, that the *Flemmings* had cloth for a yeer in their hands, that the King had five hundred quintals of powder, and much armour in *Flanders*, and the Merchants much goods at the Wooll fleet, they adviſed the King to ſend an Embaſſador Legier for the Emperour, as well to ſatiſfie him for other matters by him required, as to winne time, thereby both to prepare a Mart in *England*, and to withdraw their goods out of *Flanders*. So Maſter *Wotton* was diſpatched with particular inſtructions to deſire the Emperour to bee leſſe violent in his requests, and to advertiſe him, that the Lady *Mary*, as ſhe was his Couſin, ſo ſhe was the Kings ſiſter; and which is more, his ſubject: That ſeeing the King was a Sovereigne Prince, without dependancy upon any but God, it was not reaſon that the Emperour ſhould enter-meddle either  
with



with ordering his subjects, or with directing the affaires of his Realme. Thus much he offered, that what favour the Kings subjects had in the Emperours Dominions for their Religion, the same should the Emperours subjects receive in *England*. The Emperour, perceiving that his threats were little regarded, regarded little to threaten any more.

About the time that the Lady *Mary* should have bin transported unto *Antwerp*, a rebellion was attempted in *Essex*, where she then lay. For furtherance whereof speeches were cast forth, that strangers were arrived in *England*, either to rule or to spoile the naturall inhabitants. Upon this surmise many appointed to assemble at *Chelinsford*, and from thence to make pillage, as their wants or wanton appetites should lead; but the Principall being put to death, and the residue



pardoned, all remained quiet. Many Londoners also, hunting after riot and ease, contrived a tumult upon May day, pretending grievances and feares from strangers; but because where many are of counsell, counsell is hardly kept, the enterprise was discovered and defeated before it was ripe. Herewith *Lyon, Gorran* and *Ireland*, persons of meane condition, but desperate and discontent, endeavoured to raise a rebellion in *Kent*. They often met, and had conferences both private and long. They seemed highly busied in minde, and their heads travelling with troubled thoughts, which they often dissembled with impertinent speeches. This was first discovered by one of their servants, doubtfull whether before knowing the mischief, and untill then secret, or ignorant before, and then first apprehending suspicions. So they were apprehended, and after conviction the danger deter-



determined by their deaths. Herewith rumours were raised of great discord and practices among the Nobility: for this cause the Lords assembled at *London*, and feasted divers daies together, giving order to apprehend the reporters of these surmises, albeit haply not altogether untrue. For this cause Gentlemen were newly commanded to remaine in the country to governe the people, easie to bee dealt with whilest they stand in feare.

The King being thus uncertaine of the faith both of his subjects and of his confederates, intended by alliance to strengthen himselfe. To this purpose one *Bortwicke* was sent to the King of *Denmarke* with private instructions, to treat of a marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings sister, and the King of *Denmarkes* eldest son. But this Lady, albeit shee was furnished with many excellent

O 4      endow-



endowments both of nature and education, yet could shee never be induced to entertaine marriage with any.

After this the Lord Marquess of *Northampton* was directed with a solemne embassage to the *French* King, as well to present him with the order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret affaires. With him were joyned in commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hubby*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason* Knights, and Master *Smith* Secretary of State. The Earles of *Worcester*, *Rutland* and *Ormand* were appointed to accompany them; and likewise the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Tvers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of fixe and twenty. And for avoiding immoderate and burthenfome train, order was given, that every Earle should have foure attendants, every Lord three,

three,



three, every Knight and Gentleman two. The Commissioners were not limited to any number.

They arrived at *Nants*, and were there received by *Monsieur Chastilion*, and by him conducted to *Chasteau Bryan*, where the *French* King then lodged. They were twice banquetted by the way, and the nearer they approached to the Castle, the more increased the resort of the *French* Nobility to doe them honour. Being come to the Court, they were forthwith brought to the King, abiding then in his bed-chamber. Here the *Marquesse* presented unto him the order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested, and thereupon gave for the Garter a *haine* worth two hundred pounds, and his gowne address'd with aglets esteemed worth twenty five pounds.

Then the Bishop of *Ely* in a short speech declared how desirous the K. of *England* was, not

O s only



only to continue, but to increase amity with the *French King*: That to this purpose he had sent the order of the Garter, to bee both a testimony and tye of love between them, to which purpose chiefly those societies of honour were first devised: Hee further declared, that they had commission to make overture of some other matters, which was like to make the concord betweene the Kings and their Realmes not onely more durable, but in all expectation perpetuall, desiring the King to appoint some persons enabled with authority to treat with them.

To this speech the Cardinall of *Lorraine* answered, that the *French King* was ready to apprehend and imbrace all offers tending to increase of amity, and the rather, for that long hostility had made their new friendship both more weake in it selfe, and more obnoxious to jealousies



and distrusts, and therefore hee  
promised on the Kings behalfe,  
that Commissioners should be  
appointed to treat with them a-  
bout any matters which they  
had in charge, praying to God  
that it might bee a meanes not  
only to assure, but to enlarge  
their late settled love. So a Com-  
mission went forth to the Cardi-  
nall of *Lorraine*, and *Chastilion*  
the Constable, the Duke of  
*Guise*, and certaine others. At  
the first, the *English* demanded  
that the young Queen of *Scots*  
might be sent into *England*, for  
perfection of marriage between  
King *Edward* and her; but here-  
to the *French* answered, that  
they had taken too much adven-  
ture, and spent too many lives  
upon any conditions to let her  
goe: and that conclusion had bin  
made long before for her marri-  
age with the Dolphin of *France*.  
Then the *English* proposed a  
marriage between their King  
and the Lady *Elizabeth* the  
French



*French* Kings eldest daughter, to which the *French* did cheerfully encline.

So after agreement, that neither party should be bound either in conscience or in honour, untill the Lady should accomplish twelve yeeres of age, they fell to treat of the portion which should bee given with her in marriage. The *English* first demanded fifteene hundred thousand crownes, and offered that her dowry should bee so great as King *Henry* the eighth had given with any of his wives. The offer of dower was not disliked, but for the portion some of the *French* wondred, others smiled, that so great a summe should be demanded. The *English* descended to fourteene hundred thousand crownes, and after fell by degrees so low as eight hundred thousand crownes, but the *French*, as they held the first summe to bee unreasonable, so all the other they esteemed excessive.



excessive. Then the *English* demanded what the *French* would give. First they offered one hundred thousand crownes, afterwards two hundred thousand crownes, which they said was the most, and more than ever had been given with a daughter of *France*. They followed a stiffe contention, both by reasons and presidents, but the *French* in no case would rise any higher, only they agreed, that the *French* King at his proper charge should lend her to the King of *England* three moneths before shee should accomplish her age for marriage, sufficiently appointed with jewels, apparrell and furniture for house, and that bands for the performances should then bee delivered at *London* by the King of *England*, and at *Paris* by the *French* King; and that in case the Lady should not consent after shee should be of the said age for marriage, the  
penalty



penalty should be an hundred and fifty thousand crownes. The *French* set downe these offers in writing; and sent them to the King of *England*.

Soon after *Monsieur le Marshall* and other Commissioners were sent by the *French* King into *England*, where they arrived at such time as the sweating sicknes was most furious, a new, strange and violent disease: for if a man were attached therewith, he dyed or escaped within nine houres, or ten at the most; if he tooke cold, hee dyed within three houres; if he slept, within sixe houres (as he should be desirous to do) he dyed raving, albeit in other burning diseases that distemper is commonly appeased with sleep. It raged chiefly among men of strongest constitution and yeers, of whom an hundred and twenty perished in some one day within the liberties of *London*: few aged men, or children, or women dyed.



died thereof. Two of *Charles Brandons* sonnes, both Dukes of *Suffolke*, one of the Kings Gentlemen, and one of his Groomes dyed of this disease : For which cause the King removed to *Hampton Court* with very few followers.

The same day the *Marshall*, and other *French* Commissioners were brought by the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admirall of *England* from *Gravesend* to *London*. They were saluted by the way with all the shot of more than fifty of the Kings great Ships, and with a faire peale of Artillery from the Tower, and lastly, were lodged in *Suffolk* palace in *Southwark*; and albeit they had more than foure hundred Gentlemen in their traine, yet was not one of them, nor any other stranger in *England* touched with the sweating disease; and yet the *English* were chafed therewith not only in *England*, but in other countries



tries abroad, which made them, like tyrants, both feared and avoided wheresoever they came.

The next day the *French* were removed to *Richmond*, whence every day they resorted to *Hampton Court*, where the King remained. The first day after they had performed the ceremonies of Court, and delivered to the King their letters of credence, they were led to a chamber richly furnished for their repose. The same day they dined with the King, and after dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, the *Marshall* declared that they were come not only to deliver unto him the order of *Saint Michael*, but therewith to manifest the entire love which the King his Master did beare him, which he desired him to conceive to be no lesse than a father can beare to his naturall sonne: That albeit divers persons, either witlesse or malicious, raise divers

vaine



vaine rumours, to draw the King (as it is thought) from his Masters friendship, yet he trusted that the King would not listen unto them: That it much concerned the common quiet, that good Officers be placed upon the Frontiers; for, as good may doe good in moderating things amisse, so evill will doe evill, albeit no bad occasion be offered. Lastly, he desired, in case any new controversie should arise, it might bee determined by Commissioners on both sides, and not by conflicts the parent of warre.

To this the King both suddenly and shortly answered, that he much thanked the *French* King for his order, as for the large expression of his love, which he would be ready in all points to requite: Touching rumours, they are not alwaies to be credited, nor alwayes to bee contemned; it being no lesse vaine to feare all things, than dangerous

to



to doubt of nothing; and in case at any time he listned to them, it was only to provide against the worst, and never to breake into hostility. Concerning officers, hee appointed such as hee esteemed good, and yet preferred the over-doubtfull before the over-credulous and secure. New controversies he would alwaies be ready to determine by reason rather than by force, so far as his honour should not thereby be diminished.

The *French* after this returned to their lodging at *Richmond*, and the next day resorted againe to the King, invested him with garments of the order, and accompanied him to the Chappell, the King going between the *Marshall* and *de Guise*, both which, after the Communion, kissed his cheek. The residue of that day, and a few dayes following were passed over with pastimes and feasts. At the last, the Lord Marquesse of *Northamp-*



and the residue, who had bin formerly sent with commission from the King into *France*, were appointed to treat with the *French* Commissioners touching the great matters of their embassage. And because the *French* could be scrved no higher than their offer of two hundred thousand crownes, it was accepted: the one moiety to bee paid upon the day of marriage, and the other sixe moneths after. The Dote was agreed to be ten thousand markes of *English* money, and not to bee paid, in case the King should dye before marriage. This agreement was reduced into writing, and delivered under seale on both sides. At the same time an Embassadour arrived out of *Scotland*, to demand an exemplification of the Articles of peace between *England* and *France*, under the great Seale of *England*, which without any difficulty they obtained.

The



The *Marshall* at his taking leave, declared to the King how kindly his Master did conceive of the Kings readinesse to conclude this treaty, and also commended his Masters great inclination to the agreements thereof. Then he presented *Monsieur Boys* to be Embassadour Legier for the *French*, and the *Marquesse* presented Master *Pickering* to be Embassadour for the King of *England* in *France*. The reward of the *Marshall* was three thousand pounds in gold, besides a Diamond taken from the Kings finger esteemed worth an hundred and fifty pounds. *Monsieur de Guy* had a thousand pounds, *Monsieur Chénant* a thousand pounds, *Monsieur Mortuillier* five hundred pounds, the Secretary five hundred pounds, and the Bishop of *Periguer* five hundred pounds. The feasting was exceeding sumptuous, and at their returne they were wafted over the Sea by



by certain of the Kings ships, by reason of the wars between the Emperour and the *French King*. The Lord Marquesse his reward was afterwards delivered at *Paris* worth five hundred pounds, the Bishop of *Ely's* two hundred pounds, Sir *Philip Hobbie's* an hundred and fifty pounds; and so were the rewards of the rest.

Now the King, supposing his estate to be most safe when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his joy and of his love, advanced many to new titles of honour. The Lord Marquess *Dorset*, a man for his harmlesse simplicity neither misliked nor much regarded, was created Duke of *Suffolke*, the Earle of *Warwicke* was created Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earle of *Wiltshire* was created Marquesse of *Winchester*, Sir *William Herbert* Lord of *Gardiffe*, was created Earle of *Pembroke*, Sir *Thomas Darcie* Vicechamberlaine, and Captain of the Guard, was



was created Lord *Darcy*, *William Cecil*, to whose ensuing fortunes nothing wanted but moderation to use them, was made one of the chiefe Secretaries, Master *John Cheeke* the Kings Schoolemaster, and one of the guides of his industry and hope, and with him Master *Henry Dudley*, and Master *Henry Nevill* of the Privie chamber, were made Knights : and, which was the accomplishment of mischief, Sir *Robert Dudley*, one of the Duke of *Northumberland* sonnes, a true heire both of his hate against perions of Nobility, and of his cunning to dissemble the same, was sworne one of the fixe ordinary Gentlemen ; hee was afterwards for lust and cruelty a monster of the Court, apt to hate, so a most sure executioner of his hate, yet rather by practice than by open dealing, as wanting rather courage than wit. After his entertainment into a place of so neere service



the King enjoyed his health not long.

The Duke of *Northumberland* being now inferiour unto none of the Nobility in title of honour, and superiour to all in authority and power, could not restrain his haughty hopes from aspiring to an absolute command. But before he would directly leuell at his marke, the Duke of *Somerset* was thought fit to be taken away, whose credit was so great with the common people, that although it sufficed not to beare out any bad attempt of his owne, yet was it of force to crosse the evill purposes of others.

And now to begin the third act of his Tragedy, speeches were cast that he caused himselfe to be proclaimed King in divers countries; which albeit they were knowne to bee false, inasmuch as the Millers servant at *Batlebridge* in *Southwark* lost both his eares upon a Pillory for



for reporting, yet the very naming of him to be King, either as desired by himselfe, or by others esteemed worthy, brought with it a distastefull relish, as to apprehend suspicion to be true.

After this he was charged to have perswaded divers of the Nobility to choose him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being questioned, neither held silence as hee might, nor constantly denied it, but entangled himselfe in his doubtfull tale. One *Whaly*, a busie-headed man, and desirous to be set on worke, gave first light to this impeachment, but the Earle of *Rutland* did stoutly avouch it.

Herewith Sir *Thomas Palmer*, a man neither loving the Duke of *Somerset*, nor beholding of him, was brought by the Duke of *Northumberland* to the King, being in his garden. Here he declared, that upon *Saint Georges* day last before

Duke



Duke of *Somerset*, being upon a  
 journey towards the North, in  
 which Sir *William Herbert* Ma-  
 ster of the Horse had not as-  
 sured him that hee should re-  
 ceive no harme, would have  
 misled the people; and that he  
 had sent the Lord *Gray* before  
 to know who would bee his  
 friends: Also that the Duke of  
*Buckingham*, the Mar-  
 quesse of *Northampton*, the  
 Duke of *Breake*, and other  
 Lords should be invited to a  
 banquet, and if they came with  
 their company, to be set upon  
 by the way, if strongly, their  
 heads should have bin cut off at  
 the place of their feasting: Hee  
 said further, that Sir *Ralph*  
 had two thousand men in a  
 readiness, that Sir *Thomas*  
*Stemore* (had assured the Tower,  
 and *Stemore*) and *Hamond*  
 should await upon him, and  
 all the Horse of the *Guard*  
 should be slaine. To  
 the M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary *Cress* added,  
 P that



that the Duke had sent for him, and said, that he suspected some ill meaning against him; whereunto Master Secretary answered, that if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency; if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him.

The Duke being advertised of these informations against him by some who had some regard of honesty, did forthwith charge the Secretary by his letters. Then he sent for Sir *Thomas Palmer*, to understand what hee had reported of him, who denied all that he had said; but by this hot and humorous striving hee did but draw the knots more fast.

A few daies being passed, the Duke (either ignorant of what was intended, or, fearing, if hee seemed to perceive it) came to the Court, but somewhat later than he accustomed; and, as our minds possessed with feare all things unusual seem to menace danger, so this late coming of the



the Duke was inforced as a suspi-  
tion against him, & so after din-  
ner hee was apprehended. Sir  
*Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas*  
*Arundel*, *Hamond Nudigater*,  
*John Seymor*, and *David Sey-*  
*mor* were also made prisoners.  
The Lord *Gray*, being newly  
come out of the country, was al-  
so attached. Sir *Ralph Vane*, being  
once sent for, fled. Upon the first  
message it was reported that hee  
said that his Lord was not stout,  
and that if hee could get home,  
heared not for any; but upon  
pursuit he was found in his fer-  
reries stable at *Lambeth*, cove-  
red with straw. He was a man of  
a fierce spirit, both sudden and  
bold, of no evill disposition, li-  
ving that he thought scantnesse  
of estate too great an evill. All  
these were the same night sent to  
the Tower, except *Palmer*, *A-*  
*rundel* and *Vane*, who were kept  
in the Court well guarded in  
chambers apart. The day fol-  
lowing, the Dutchesse of *Somer-*



set was sent to the Tower, no man grieving thereat, because her pride and balennesse of life over-ballanced all pity; and doubtlesse, if any mischief were then contrived, whereof many were doubtfull (every one giving forth as he beleaved) it was first hammered in the forge of her wicked working braine: for she had alwayes wicked instruments about her, whom the more she found appliable to her purposes, the more favours she bestowed upon them, who being engaged by her into dangers, held it dangerous to fall from her. Also with her were committed one *Crane* and his wife, and her owne Chamber-woman. After these followed *Sir Thomas Holdcroft*, *Sir Miles Partridge*, *Sir Michael Stanhope*, *Wingfield*, *Banister*, *Vaughan*, and some others. In divers of these was then neither any cause knowne, or afterwards discovered; but the number raised the greater



greater terrour, and doubled the conceit of the danger.

Sir *Thomas Palmer*, being againe examined, added to his former detection, that the *Gendarmory* upon the *Mutter* day should bee assaulted by two thousand foot under Sir *Ralph Fane*, and by a hundred horses of the Duke of *Somersetts*, besides his friends which should stand by, and besides the idle people which were thought inclineable to take his part: that this done, he would runne thorow the City and proclaime liberty, and in case his attempt did not succeed, he would goe to the *Isle of Wight*, or to *Poole*.

*Crane* confessed for the most part as *Palmer* had done; and further added, that the Lord *Pagets* house was the place, where the Nobility (being invited to a banquet) should have lost their heads, and that the Earle of *Arundel* was made acquainted

P 3 with



with the practice by Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and that it had bin done, but that the greatnesse of the enterprise caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and further said, that the Duke of *Somerset*, once feigning himselfe to be sicke, went to *London*, to assay what friends he could procure. This *Crane* was a man, who having consumed his owne estate, had armed himselfe to any mischief.

*Hamond* confessed, that the Duke of *Somerset*'s chamber had bin strongly watched at *Greenwich* by night.

All these were sworne before the Councell, and the greatest part of the Nobility of the Realme, that their confessions were true, and as favourably set downe in behalfe of the Duke as with a safe conscience they could: And forthwith, upon the information of *Crane*, the Earle of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the Tower, so were

*Stradley*



Stradley and St. Albones, ser-  
uants to the Earle of Arundel.  
The Lord Strange voluntarily  
informed how the Duke desired  
him to move the King, to take  
to wife his third daughter the  
lady Jane, and that he would  
be his espiall about the King,  
to advertise him when any of the  
Councell spake privately with  
him, and to acquaint him what  
they said.

Hereupon, to give some pub-  
like satisfaction to the people,  
the Lord Chancellour, who had  
words at will, and wit enough  
to apply them, declared openly  
in the Starre-chamber all these  
accusations against the Duke of  
Somerset: Letters were also  
published to all Emperours,  
Kings, Embassadors, and chiefe  
men in any State, wherein these  
matters were comprised. By o-  
ther letters the muster of the  
Gendarmory was deferred for  
certaine moneths, other letters  
were directed to Sir Arthur



Darcy to take charge of the Tower, and to discharge Sir *Christopher Markham*, for that without acquainting any of the Lords of the Councell, he suffered the Duke of *Somerset* to walke abroad, and permit entercommen of letters between *David Seymour* and *Mistresse Poynes*.

Whilest these matters were in travell, messengers arrived from the Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Mickelburge*, and *John Marquesse* of *Brandenburge*, Princes of the Religion in *Germany*, to understand the Kings mind, whether he would agree to aid them with 400000. dollars, in case any necessity should assaile them, they consenting to doe the like for him, in case hee should be overcharged with war. The King gave them an uncertaine answer, but gentle, & full of faire hopes, that because their message was only to know the Kings inclination, not to conclude, hee could give them



them no other answer than this, that he was wel enclined to joyn in amity with them whom hee knew to agree with him in Religion; but first he was desirous to know, whether they could procure such aide from other Princes, as might enable them to maintaine their wars, & to assist him, if need should require; and therefore he willed them to break this matter to the Duke of *Prussia*, & other Princes about them; and to procure the good will of *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, & *Breme*. Then he desired, that the matter of Religion should be plainly set down, lest under pretence thereof warres should bee made for other quarrels. Lastly, hee willed that they should furnish themselves with more ample instructions from their Lords, to commune and conclude of all circumstances pertaining to that business.

The Kings answer was framed with these uncertanties and



delaiies, left if the King had affirmed his consent at the first, it might have bin taken as breach of league with the Emperour: Afterwards they and other Princes of *Germany* made a league offensive and defensive with the *French* King against the Emperour, into the which the *French* King desired the King of *England* to come; but because the *French* King was the chief of the league, the King did plainly perceive, that the warre was not for the cause of Religion: wherefore he answered, that he could not doe it without breach of his league with the Emperour, against whom having no pretence of hostility, he was not so desirous of wars, as (without just cause of his owne) to pull them upon him.

About the same time the Lord Admirall was sent into *France* as the Kings Deputy, to be Godfather at the Baptisme of the *French* Kings sonne: Also a *French* man, who had come



sed a murther at *Diepe*, and fled into *England*, was remitted into *France*, and delivered upon the borders, to receive iustice by the same lawes against which he had offended.

And now (the Duke of *Norshumberland* being impatient of long working wickednesse) the fourth act of the Duke of *Somersets* Tragedy must not bee delayed, lest thereby feare abating (as being false, it could not be durable) either the Kings gentle disposition, or the love which he had formerly borne to his Uncle, might haply returne to their naturall working. So the Duke of *Somerset*, after a short aboad in the Tower, was brought to his triall at *Westminster*. The Lord *William Paules*, Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, sat as high steward of *England*, under a cloth of estate on a bench mounted three degrees. The Peeres, to the number of twenty seven, sat



sate on a bench one step lower. These were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and of *Northumberland*, the Marquesse of *Northampton*, the Earles of *Darby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Barbe*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and *Hereford*. The Barons, *Abergavenny*, *Andeley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Louch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windsore*, *Cromwel*, *Cobham* and *Bray*.

First, the inditements were read, in number five, containing a charge of raising man in the North parts of the Realm, and at his house, of assembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, of resisting his attachment, of killing the Gendarmory, of raising *London*, of assaulting the Lords, and devising their deaths. When the prisoner had pleaded not guilty, and put himselfe upon tryall of his Peeres, the examinations before mentioned were read, and by the

King



Kings learned Councell pressed against him. Hereto, albeit he was both unskilfull and much appalled (causes sufficient to drive him out of matters) yet after a short entreaty, that words either idly or angerly spoken might not bee enforced to any high scrue; to the points objected he answered:

That hee never intended to raise the North parts of the Realm, but upon some bruities he apprehended a feare, which moved him to send to Sir *William Herbert* to remaine his friend: That he determined not to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Lord, but spake of it only, and determined the contrary: That it had bin a mad enterprise with his hundred men to assault the *Gendarmory*, consisting of nine hundred, when in case he had prevailed, it would nothing have availed the pretended purpose; and therefore this being senselesse and absurd, must



must needs discredit other matters, which otherwise might have bin beleevd: That at *London* hee never projected any stirre, but ever held it a good place for his surety: That for having men in his chamber at *Greenwich*, it was manifest he meant no harme, because when he might have done it, hee did not: And further, against the persons of them, whose examinations had bin read against him, he objected many things, desiring they might be brought to his face, which (in regard he was a person of dignity & estate) hee claimed to bee reasonable, especially against Sir *Thomas Palmer* he spake much evill, and yet in opinion of many farre short of the truth. Hereto answer was made, but that the worse they were, the fitter they were to be his instruments: His instruments indeed (saide he) rather for others than for me.

The Feast being made, the



Kings learned Councell avouched, That to assemble men with intent to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was treason by a Statute of the third and fourth yeer of King *Edward* then reigning, made against unlawfull assemblies: That to raise *London*, or the North parts of the Realme, was treason: That to mind resisting his attachment was felony: That to assault the Lords, and to devise their deaths was felony. But under favour of their judgement, the Statute alledged beares no such sense, either for treason or for felony; indeed, by a Statute of King *Henry* the seventh, it is felony for inferiour persons to contrive the death of a Lord of the Councell, but Lords are therein expressly excepted.

The Lords went together, and sent the Duke of *Suffolke* nobly said, that he held it not reasonable, that this being but a contention between private subjects,



jects, under pretention thereof, any meane action should bee drawne to intention of treason. The Duke of *Northumberland* (in countenance bearing shew of sadnesse, but in truth stiffely obstinate) denied that he would ever consent that any practice against him should be either imputed or reputed to be treason; yet this was not taken to proceed from modesty as he expected, but for that he could not with his honour or with reason so enforce it.

The Marquesse of *Northampton* was crosse and contentious with many, but never replied to any answer; a manifest marke of no strong spirit. Some of the rest plainly brake forth, that they held it unfit that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earle of *Pembroke* should bee of the tryall, because the prisoner was chiefly charged with practices intended against them.



hereto answer was made, that a  
Peere of the Realme might not  
be challenged. After much va-  
riation of opinions, the prisoner  
at the barre was acquit of trea-  
son, but by most voices (most  
favouring the Duke of *North-  
umberland*) hee was found  
guilty of felony. Hereupon judg-  
ment followed that hee should  
be hanged; but this would ne-  
ver have gone so hard, had they  
not prosecuted all under pro-  
secution of treason.

The Duke of *Somerset* might  
have craved his Clergie, but he  
suffered judgement to passe;  
thanked the Lords for his gen-  
de tryall, craved pardon of the  
Duke of *Northumberland*, the  
Marquesse of *Northampton*, and  
the Earle of *Pembroke*, for his  
ill meaning against them, and  
made suit for his life, in pity  
to his wife, children, and ser-  
vants, and in regard of payment  
of his debts. As hee departed,  
because he was acquit of treason,  
the



the axe of the Tower was not openly carried; whereupon the people, supposing that hee was altogether acquit, shouted halfe a dozen times so loud, that they were heard beyond *Charing-Crosse*. It is certaine the people favoured him the more, because they saw that there was much secret hate borne against him. But, as this immoderate favour of the multitude did him no good, so will it undoe so many as shall trust unto it. It was told the King, that after the Duke returned to the Tower, hee acknowledged to certaine Lords, that hee had hired *Bartolome* to make them away; that *Bartolome* confessed so much, and that *Hamond* was not ignorant thereof: which whether it were true, or whether devised, to make the King more estranged from him, men of judgement could not hold themselves assured.

About this time, *Cuthbert Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, a



man famous in those times for learning and integrity of life, was sent to the Tower for concealment of (I know not what) treason, written to him I know not by whom, and not discovered untill (what shall I call) the party did reveale it. But the Lord Chancellor *Rich*, having built a faire estate, and perceiving what nimble cares were borne to listen after treason: also for that a Parliament was towards, wherein he was doubtfull what questions might arise, made suit to the King, that in regard of the infirmities of his body he might be discharged of his office, giving good example to men sometimes by their own moderation to avoid disgrace. So he delivered the Seale at his house in great Saint *Bartholomewes* to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earle of *Pembroke*, sent by the King with commission to receive it. The same Seale was forthwith delivered



vered to Doctor *Godrick* Bishop of *Ely*, a man, if haply able to discharge the place, assuredly no more. It was first delivered unto him only during the sicknesse of the Lord *Rich*, but in short time after he was sworne Lord Chancellour, because (as keeper of the Seale) he could not then execute such matters as were to be dispatched in Parliament.

And now, after judgement against *Somerset*, the Lords were not negligent to entertaine the King with all delights they could devise, partly, to winne his favour, but especially to convert his thoughts from his condemned Uncle. To this end they often presented him with stately Masques, brave Challenges at Tilt and at Barriers, and whatsoever exercises or disports they could conjecture to bee best pleasing to him. Then also hee first began to keep Hall, and the Christmas time was passed over with Banquetting.



quetings, Masques, Playes, and much other variety of mirth. Often they would call him to serious affaires, wherein hee tooke especiall pleasure. Sometimes they would remember him how dangerous the Duke of Somerset was, who (having made away his onely brother) contrived the death of the chiefe of the Nobility. And where (say they) would his mischiefe have rested? Would it have ragged against all, and left the King only untouched? Verily having bin alwaies both cruel and false, there would have bin no end of his mischiefe, and all his submissions must now be taken for counterfeit and assembled; but his avarice and ambition (once removed) the way will be laid open to vertue and merit.

So about two moneths after his judgement, the sixth and last act of his Tragedy was brought upon the Stage, when being



being so often exposed to fortunes mercy before, he was placed by a strong guard upon a Scaffold at Tower hill, about eight of the clocke in the morning, to suffer death; and a straight charge had bin given the day before to every Household in the City, not to permit any to depart out of their houses before ten of the clocke that day: yet the people (the more urged by this restraint) by such thick throngs swarmed to the place that before seven of the clocke the Hill was covered, and all the chambers which opened towards the Scaffold were taken up.

Here the Duke first avowed to the people, that his intentions had bin not onely harmful in regard of particular persons but driving to the common benefit both of the King and of the Realme. Then hee exhorted them unto obedience, assuring them, that no persons could

gained



fully avouch their faith to God,  
who were not faithfull to their  
King.

But herewith behold certaine  
persons of a Hamlet neere, who  
had bin warned by the Lieute-  
nant of the Tower to attend  
the morning about seven of the  
clocke, coming after their  
horne through the Posterne, and  
receiving the prisoner to bee  
mounted upon the Scaffold, be-  
gan to runne, and to call to their  
fellowes to come away. The  
suddenness of their coming, the  
noise that they made, the wea-  
pon they carried, but especially  
the word, *Come away*, being of-  
ten doubled, moved many of  
the worst to faineise, that a  
rescue was come to rescue the  
prisoner: whereupon many cryed  
with a high voice, *Away, away*;  
the cry of those, and the com-  
ing in of the other, cast a  
dismayment upon the rest, so  
that the more terrible, because  
no man knew what he feared, or  
where-



wherefore, every man concei-  
ving that which his astonish-  
fancie did cast in his mind, some  
imagined that it thundered, &  
others that it was an earth-quake,  
others that the powder in the  
artemorie had taken fire, & others  
that troopes of horsemen ap-  
proached: In which medly  
conceits they bare downe one  
another, and iustled many into  
the Tower ditch, and long it was  
before the vaine tumult could  
be appeased.

No sooner was the people  
settled in quiet, and the Duke  
beginning to finish his speech,  
but upon another idle apprehen-  
sion they felt to be no less  
rictorous in joy than they had  
in feare. For Sir *Anthony Browne*  
comming on horsebacke, with  
the spurre, gave occasion wher-  
by many cheertained hope that  
he brought a pardon, whereupon  
on a great shout was raised,  
A pardon, A pardon, God save  
the King. But the Duke expres-



great constancy at both these times, often desiring the people to remaine quiet, that he might quietly end his life: For, said he, I have often looked death in the face upon great adventures in the field, he is now no stranger to me; and among all the vaine mockeries of this world, I repent me of nothing more than esteeming life more deare than I should. I have endured the hate of great persons, so much the more dangerous, because unjust. I have incurred displeasure from inferiours, not wayes for any great faults of mine owne (albeit I was never free) but for giving way to the faults of others: and now being constantly resolved, I neither care to dye, nor desire to live; and having mastered all griefe in my selfe, I desire no man to sorrow for me. So having testified his faith to God, and his faithfulness to the King, he yeelded his body into the executioners hand,



hand, who with one stroake of the axe cut off all his confused cogitations and cares; the more pitied by the people for the knowne hate of *Northumberland* against him.

Assuredly, hee was a man harmlesse and faithfull, and one who never hatched any hopes prejudiciall to the King, but alwayes intended his safety and honour; but hard it is for greatnesse to stand, when it is not sustained by the proper strength. The people, whose property it is; by excessive favour to bring great men to misery, and then to be excessive in pity, departed away grieved and affraid, and yet feared to seem to be affraid; and for this cause chiefly did never beare good mind to *Northumberland* afterwards, although it shew they dissembled the contrary: For nothing is more easie than to discern when people observe great men from the heart, or when they do it for



shion or for feare. And as it often  
happeneth, that men oppressed  
work revenge after their deaths,  
so the remembrance of *Somer-*  
*set* much moved the people to  
fall from *Northumberland* in  
his greatest attempt, and to  
leave him to his fatall fall;  
whereat they openly rejoyced,  
and presented to him handker-  
chiefes dipped in the blond of  
*Somerfet*, for whom they  
thought he deserved rather late  
than undeserved punishment: So  
certain it is, that the debts both  
of cruelty and mercy goe never  
unpayed. I omit the many scour-  
ges of conscience; for assuredly  
a body cannot be so torne with  
stripes, as a minde is with re-  
membrance of wicked actions.  
But of him more hereafter shall  
be said, and how his greatnesse  
turned to be fortunes scorn.

But outwardly and for the  
present he gained a great hand  
over the Nobility, who soon ob-  
serving that he was able to en-



danger the estate of the greatest, and that the more respect they did beare to him, the more safely they lived, and the more easily advanced to honour, they all contended to creep into his humour, to watch his words, his gestures, his looks, and to do that as of themselves, which they conceived he had a desire they should doe.

But the King, albeit at the first he gave no token of any ill tempered passion, as taking it not agreeable to majesty openly to declare himselfe; and albeit the Lords did much heare to dispell any dampy thoughts, which the remembrance of his Uncle might raise, by applying him with great variety of exercises and disports; yet upon speech of him afterwards he would often sigh, and let his teares: sometimes hee was of opinion, that hee had done something that deserved death, or he had, that it was very



and proceeded rather from his wife, than from himselfe. And where then, said hee, was the good nature of a Nephew? where was the clemency of a Prince? Ah, how unfortunate have I been to those of my blood? My Mother I flue at my very birth, and since have made away two of her brothers, and haply to make a way for the purposes of others against my selfe. Was it ever knowne before, that a Kings Uncle, a Lord Protector, one whose fortunes had much advanced the honour of the Realme, did lose his head for felony, for a felony neither cleere in law, and in fact weakly proved? Alas, how falsely have I bin abused? how weakly carried? how little was I master over mine owne judgement, that both his death and the envie thereof must be charged upon me?

Not long after the death of *Somerſet*, because it was not

Q 3      thought



thought fit that such a person should be executed alone, who could hardly bee thought to offend alone. Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hanged on Tower Hill, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* were there also beheaded. All these tooke it upon their last charge, that they never offended against the King, nor against any of his Councell, God knowes whether obstinately secret, or whether innocent; and in the opinion of all men *Somerset* was much cleared by the death of those who were executed to make him appeare faulty.

Sir *Ralph Vane* was charged with conspiring with *Somerset*, but his bold answers termed rude and ruffian-like, falling into eares apt to take offence, either only caused or much furthered his condemnation. Besides his naturall fiercenesse, enflamed by his present disgrace, hee was the more free by reason  
of



of his great services in the field :  
The time hath bin, said he, when  
I was of some esteem, but now  
we are in peace, which reputeth  
the coward & courageous alike;  
and so with an obstinate resolu-  
tion he made choice rather not  
to regard death, than by any sub-  
mission to entreat for life. In-  
deed it was well knowne, that  
he had bin famous for service, but  
therewith it was well knowne,  
by whose favour he had bin fa-  
mous.

*Sir Thomas Arundel* was  
with some difficulty condem-  
ned: for his cause was brought  
to tryall about seven of the clock  
in the morning, about noon the  
Jurors went together, and be-  
cause they could not agree, they  
were shut in a house all the resi-  
due of that day, and all the night  
following : The next morning  
they found him guilty; unhappy  
man, who found the doing of  
any thing or of nothing dange-  
rous alike.



Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Michael Stanhope were condemned as confociates in the conspiracy of *Somerſet*: Both reputed indifferently diſpoſed to bad or good (yet neither of them of that temper, as to dare any dangerous fact) either becauſe they were ſo indeed, or becauſe their favour or alliance with the Dutcheſſe of *Somerſet* made them to be of leſſe eſteem.

*Garter*, King at Armes, was ſent to the Lord *Paget* priſoner in the Tower, to take from him the *Garter* and the *George*, and to diſcharge him of that order. The pretence of this diſhonour was, becauſe he was ſaid to be no Gentleman of blond, neither by father nor by mother. The *Garter* and the *George* were forthwith beſtowed upon the Earle of *Warwicke*, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*. About this time the order was almoſt wholly



wholly altered, as by the Statutes thereof then made it appears.

After these times few matters of high nature or observable note happened in *England* during King *Edwards* life. Of these, I will select such as I esteem most fit for History, both as being publike, and as containing matter of some regard, not alwayes observing the just order of time, but sometime coherence or propinquity of matter.

Sir *Philip Hobby* was sent to pay sixty two thousand pounds at *Antwerp*, for payment of which summe the King stood to divers persons engaged. This done, hee went to the Regent, then lying at *Brussels*, to declare unto her certaine grievances of the *English* Merchant Adventurers; but he received nothing but faire promises, which proved deceivable. Afterwards, *Monsieur de Couriers* came from



the Regent to the King, to understand more particularly the complaints of the Merchants, and therewith to desire that her subjects ships might safely take harbour in any of the Kings havens. For the first, a note of the Merchants complaints was delivered in writing, but answer was deferred for want of instructions, an usuall pretence in like affaires. Touching the second, answer was made, that the King had given order, that *Eleutherian* ships should not be molested in any of his havens, which appeared, in that they were there alwayes rescued from the pursuit and chase of the *French*; but he thought it not fit that more should enter his havens at once than hee had power to governe. Assuredly, the Merchant Adventurers had bin often wronged and wringed to the quicke, but were never quicke and lively in thanks to those, by whose endeavours they were freed.



The same Merchants exhibited a Bill at the Conncell table against the Merchants of the Still-yard. After answer by those of the Still-yard, and reply by the Adventurers, it was conceived upon view of divers Charters, that the Merchants of the Still-yard were no sufficient corporation, and that their number, names and nation could not be known: Also, that when they had forfeited their liberties, King *Edward* the fourth restored them upon condition, that they should cover no strangers goods; which they had not observed. And againe, whereas at the beginning they shipped not above eighty clothes, after that an hundred, afterwards a thousand, after that sixe thousand; at that time forty foure thousand clothes were shipped every yeer in their names, and not above eleven hundred by all strangers besides: wherefore, albeit certaine Embassadors from *Ham-*  
*borough*



*borough & Lubecke* spake much in their behalfe, yet a decree was made, that they had forfeited their liberties, and were in the same condition with other strangers. And albeit they made great meanes afterwards, yet could they not procure this sentence to be reversed.

A Commission was granted to eight Bishops, eight other Divines, eight Civilians, and eight common Lawyers, in all thirty two, to set forth Ecclesiasticall lawes, agreeable to the nature both of the people and of the religion then established in the Church of *England*; but it took no effect. For neither the number of the Commissioners being many, nor the quality of them, being persons both in great offices, and divers farre remote, could afford meetings for so great a business. Also the difference both of professions and of ends, did of necessity raise much difference in judgement.

The



The King had fixe Chaplains in Ordinary, touching whole attendance in Court. an order was made, that two should remaine with the King by turnes, and foure should travell in preaching abroad. The first yeere two in *Wales*, and two in *Lincolnshire*: the next yeere two in the *Marshes of Scotland*, and two in *Yorkeshire*: the third yeere two in *Devonshire*, and two in *Hampshire*: the fourth yeere two in *Northfolke & Essex*, and two in *Kent and Suffex*, and so thorow all the Shires in *England*: which haply did not onely serve for a spirituall end, namely, instruction in Religion, but did also advance a temporall purpose of peaceable obedience. For, as rude untrained mindes are not only easily drawne, but inclineable of themselves to sedition and tumult, so by learning and religion men are especially both reduced and retained in civill quiet.

For



For better dispatch of busi-  
nesse of divers natures, the body  
of the Councell was divided in-  
to severall commissions. Some  
were appointed for hearing those  
suits which were usually brought  
before the whole Table, to send  
matters of justice to their pro-  
per Courts, to give full deniall  
to such as they should not  
esteem reasonable, to certifie  
what they thought meet to bee  
granted, and upon allowance  
thereof to dispatch the parties.  
Others were appointed to con-  
sider of penall Lawes and Pro-  
clamations in force, and to quic-  
ken the execution of the most  
principall. These were directed,  
first to consider what principall  
Lawes and Proclamations were  
most needfull to bee executed;  
then to enquire into the coun-  
tries how they were disobeyed,  
and first, to punish greatest of-  
fendors, and afterwards to pro-  
ceed to the rest. Lastly, that  
they should enquire what other  
disorders



disorders were either dangerous or offensive in every Shire, and either to punish the offenders, or else to report their judgement therein. Others were appointed to attend occurrences of State at large, with whom the King did sit once every week to heare matters of greatest moment debated, because in these high passages nothing was thought to be done truly with majesty, nothing agreeable to the dignity of the State, but in the presence of the King. Generally, all the Councell agreed, that none of them should make suit to the King for land or forfeitures above twenty pounds, or for reversion of leases, or any other extraordinary matter, untill the state of his revenues should be further knowne.

Besides these commissions, another went forth to over-see and order the Kings revenues, and to cut off superfluous charges, to over-see all Courts, especially those



those of new erection, as the Court of augmentation, and of first fruits and tenths, and to provide that the revenues were answered every halfe yeere. Another went forth for debts owing to the King, and to take account of payments since the thirty, fife yeere of *Henry* the eighth, and in what manner the King had bin deceived, either by not accounting, or accounting falsely. Another also for taking away needlesse Bulwarkes; by vertue whereof divers were demolished upon the Sea coasts, in peace chargeable, and little serviceable in warre. And further, for more orderly and speedy dispatch of causes, the King delivered to his Councell these Articles followinge:

I *That all suits, petitions, and common warrants delivered to the Privie Councell, be considered by them on Mondays in the afternoone, and answered on Saturdayes in the afternoone, and*



that those dayes and no other be assigned to that purpose.

2 That such suits and petitions as pertain to any Courts of Law, bee referred to those Courts where properly they are tryable; others to be determined with expedition.

3 That in making warrants for money, it be fore-seen, that they be not for such matters as may be dispatched by warrants dormant, lest by such meanes accounts should be uncertaine.

4 That upon Sundayes they intend publique affaires of the Realme, dispatch answers to letters for good order of the State, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the weeke before: Provided that they be present at Common Prayer.

5 That on Sunday night the Secretaries, or one of them, deliver the King a memoriall of such things as are to be debated by the Privie Councell, and bee to appoint certaine of them to be debated



debated upon severall dayes, viz. Monday afternoone, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before noone.

6 That on Friday afternoone they shall make a collection of such things as have bin done the foure dayes before, what they have concluded, and what the time suffered not to peruse. Also the principall reasons which moved them to conclude of such matters as seemed doubtfull.

7 That on Saturday before noone they present this collection to the King, and enquire his pleasure upon all things which they have concluded, and also upon all private suits.

8 That none of the Privie Councell depart the Court for longer time than two dayes, unlessse eight of the Councell remaine behind, and unlessse the King have notice thereof.

9 That they make no assembly in Councell, unless they be the number of foure at the least.



10 That if they assemble to the number of foure, and under the number of fixe, then they may reason or examine the commodities or inconveniences of matters proposed, and make things plaine, which seem disguised at the first opening; and if they agree, then at the next full assembly of fixe; a perfect conclusion thereof shall be made.

11 That if there be under foure; and a matter ariseth requiring expedition, they shall declare it to the King, but not give answer, unlesse it requires extraordinary haste.

12 That if such matters shall arise as it shall please the King to heare the same debated, warning shall bee given, that the more may be present.

13 That if such matter arise as cannot be ended without long debating, the Councell shall not intermeddle with other causes, untill they have concluded the same.

14 That



14 That no private suit be intermingled with great affaires, but shall be heard on Mundayes onely.

15 That when matters for scantnesse of time be only discussed and not brought to an end, then it shall bee noted to what point the businesse is brought, and what have beene the principall reasons, that when it shall be treated again it may the sooner come to conclusion.

16 That intedious or difficult matters two or three or more may be appointed to prepare and report the same, that being less cumbrous and defuse they may the more easily be dispatched.

17 That no warrant for reward above forty pounds, or businesse, or affaires above an hundred pounds passe but under the Kings signet.

18 That if upon advertisements or other occasions matters of great importance appear which require haste, such mat-



shall bee considered and determined, notwithstanding those Articles which appoint business for severall daies, so as this order bee not generally or commonly broken.

Assuredly, albeit the King declared both his judgment and his diligence and care of affaires of the Realme, yet is there one rule more (and not by him neglected) for all great officers, which if it be not sufficient in it self to hold matters in order, yet are no rules sufficient without it.

And this is to chuse persons both for ability and integrity well reputed, albeit haply they bee not alwayes used. For besides that these will bee a rule to themselves, it is a great satisfaction to the people, and keepeth them both from murmuring and curious enquiring into counsels of State, which is never good, and often dangerous, when they know, or at least suppose matters to passe under



under such mens judgements.

In these times it was conceived by many, that by erecting of a Mart in *England*, the Realm would be much enriched, and made more famous, and less obnoxious to other countries. The time was then esteemed fit by reason of the warres between the Emperour and the *French King*. The places deemed most meet were *Hull* for the East countries, and *Southampton* for the South. *London* was thought no ill place, but *Southampton* was judged most convenient for the first beginning. This matter detained the Lords of the Council in a deliberation both serious & long, with great strength and variety of reasons on both sides, which because they may give some light to the like question, which in times ensuing may haply againe be set on foot. I will here declare them in the same manner as they were collected by the King.

Against



Against the Mart these objections were made:

1 That strangers could have access into England by land, which they had at Antwerp, where the Mart then was.

2 That the ill working of English clothes made them lesse esteemed abroad.

3 That the great quantity of English clothes in Flanders would make them lesse desired from hence.

4 That the Merchants had then established their dwelling places at Antwerp.

5 That other Nations would forbear their resort into England for a while, upon commandment of the Emperour.

6 That the deniall of the requests of the Merchants of the Still-yard would be a hinderance to the Mart, if prevention were used.

7 That the poverty & smallness of Southampton would be a great impediment.

8 That



8 That the river Rhine was more commodious for Antwerp than any river was for England.

Herunto answer was made, that at the time when the Mass should begin at Southampton the French King and the *Almaines* would stop entercourse to Antwerp by land, so as nothing should passe that way but in great danger. Again, as Southampton wanteth the commodity of accessse of merchandize by land, so it hath the commodity, that there can be no accessse of enemies by land; and if wars should be raised, then the Navie of England is sufficient to defend them. And further, that traffique that commeth to Antwerp by land, is almost onely from the *Venetians*, who may with greater ease, and lesse danger transport their Merchandizes into England by sea: That the ill making of clothes was fit to bee redressed by the Parliament then sitting, and the ma-



was then reduced to some  
necessesse, the upper house ha-  
ving one bill, and the neather  
house another in good forward-  
nesse. Neither were they so ill  
made, but that the *Flemmings*  
did easily desire them, offering  
rather to pay the imposition of  
the Emperour, than to be with-  
out them.

That it were necessary, that  
the passage of ships should bee  
stayd, untill the Mart should  
advance to some ripenesse, and  
that clothes should bee bought  
with the Kings mony, and con-  
veyed to *Southampton*, to be  
there uttered at the Mart, which  
would help the inconvenience  
very well. That Merchants ne-  
ver bind themselves to any  
manſion, which either to at-  
tinue gaine, or to avoid dan-  
ger, they will not readily for-  
ſake: For ſo they removed from  
*Bruges* to *Antwerp*, onely for  
the *English* commodities. And  
therefore ſeeing they ſhall have  
R a good



a good commodity by comming to *Southampton*, and be rid of great feare of danger both in their lives and goods in forsaking *Antwerp*, there is little fear that they will be curious in making the change.

That the Emperour was then so neerly driven, that neither was he willing to attend the impeachment of the Mart, neither could he at that time doe it: for the *Flemmings* and the *Spaniards* under him could more hardly be without the *English*, than the *English* without them; and therefore would hardly be brought to forbear that trafficke: and besides, they lived then in feare of losing all.

That it were good that for the present the Still-yard men were generally answered, and tryall made whether by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties they might be brought to ship their wares unto the Mart. The *French* also might easily



asily be drawne over, having  
no traffique at that time but  
with *England*. That these two  
might suffice to begin a Mart.

That the Merchants would  
make good shift for their lodg-  
ing; and it is not the ability of  
the place that maketh a Mart,  
but the resort of Merchants (as  
*Spaniards, Almains, Italians,*  
*Flemmings, Venetians, Danes*)  
in exchanging their commodi-  
ties one with another: With  
whom also would concur the  
Merchants of *London, Bristoll,*  
and other places of *England*;  
and some of the clothes which  
should be carried thither at the  
first, might be taken up with the  
Kings mony, and there be utte-  
red.

That *Bruges*, where the Mart  
was before, standeth not upon  
the *Rhine*; neither doth *Ant-*  
*werp*, where the Mart was then.  
*Frankford* doth, and may well  
serve for a Faire for high *Al-*  
*maine*; but *Southampton* serveth



better for all countries upon the  
sea : for few of these resort to  
*Franckefort*.

Herewith divers reasons were  
alleged for the Mart, and  
namely, that the vent of *English*  
clothes would hereby be open  
in all times of warre : that the  
*English* Merchants goods would  
be out of danger of strangers,  
and without feare of danger of  
arresting upon every light cause.  
That it would much enrich the  
Realme ; because, as a Market  
enricheth a Towne, so doth a  
Mart enrich a Kingdome. That  
upon occasion great summes of  
mony might bee borrowed of  
them who frequent the Mart.  
That the King might command  
a great number of strangers  
ships to serve in his warres. That  
warre being made, all goods  
should be in the Kings danger.  
That the *English* should buy all  
things at the first hand of stran-  
gers, whereas then the stran-  
gers sold their wares to the

*Flemmings*



*Flemmings*, and the *Flemmings* to the *English*. That the Towns towards the Sea would hereby be made more populous, rich, beautifull and strong. That the Merchants, in stead of Tapistry, Points, Glasses, and Laces, would then bring in Bullion, and other substantiall Merchandizes, to have the *English* Cloth and Tinne. That by this means the *English* should abate the power of their enemies, and not bee enforced to borrow of Merchants but when they list, and that in no great quantity or summe.

The time was then esteemed most convenient, because the warres betwixt the *French* and the Emperour caused the *Italians*, *Genowaies*, *Portugals* and *Spaniards* to forbear their trade to *Antwerp*. The *Prussians* also, and other East countries, having fourteen ships against the Emperour, would not be very forward to adventure thither. Againe,



the *French* invading *Lorraine*, and menacing *Flanders*, and the *Almaines* lying on the river of *Rhine*, did stop the course of Merchants out of *Italy*, as well to *Franckeford* as to *Antwerp*. And further, the putting of soldiers into *Antwerp*, moved the Merchants to forbear their traffique, and to looke to their safety. Also the breach which a late tempest had made, was like to make the channell uncertaine, and the haven naught. Lastly, the stop of the exchange to *Lyon* would make many *Flemmings* bankrupts. And because these Nations cannot live without a vent, these things decaying the Mart of *Antwerp* and *Franckeford*, they would most willingly upon erecting a free Mart resort to *England*.

And here the Town of *Southampton* was esteemed most fit, because the *Spaniards*, *Britains*, *Gascoines*, *Lombards*, *Genoises*, *Normans*, *Italians*, the Merchants



Merchants of the East-land, the  
*Prussians, Danes, Swedens, and*  
*Norwegians* might indifferent-  
ly resort thither, and more easie  
than to *Antwerp*. And whereas  
the *Flemmings*, having few com-  
modities, have allured Mer-  
chants by their priviledges to  
settle a Mart among them, much  
more easily should the *English*  
doe it, having both opportunity  
and meanes, as Cloth, Tin, Sea-  
coale, Lead, Bell-metall, and  
such other commodities, as few  
Christian countries have the  
like.

Lastly, the meanes to esta-  
blish this Mart were contrived  
to be these: First, that the *En-  
glish* Merchants should forbear  
their resort for a Mart or two  
beyond the Seas, under pretence  
of the impositions there charged  
upon them. Then, that Procla-  
mation should be made in di-  
vers parts of this Realme, where  
Merchants chiefly resort, that  
there shall be a free Mart kept



at *Southampton* to begin presently after *Whitsontide*, and to continue five weekes, so as it should be no hindrance to *Saint James Faire* at *Bristol*, nor to *Bartholomew Faire* in *London*. The priviledges of which Mart should be expressed to be these:

That all men should have free liberty for resort and returne without arresting, except in cases of treason, murther, or felony. That for the time of the Mart all men should pay but halfe the custome due in other places of the Realme. That during the time no shipping should be made from any place between *Southwales* and *Essex*, but only to *Southampton*. That in *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Kent* and *Dorsetshire* no bargain should be made for wares during that time, but only at that Mart. That a Court should bee erected to punish offenders, with liberties of good condition. That some



one commodity (as haply some one kind of cloth) should be assigned as proper to the Mart. That some liberties must be given to the Inhabitants of *Southampton*, and some monies lent them, if it might be spared, to begin their traffique. That ships should attend the safeguard of Merchants so well as they could. And that if this Mart tooke good effect, another might be erected at *Hull* for the North-east countries, to begin presently after *Sturbridge* Faire, so as they might returne before the great Ices stopped their Seas.

Thus it was concluded, but the execution was for a time delayed, because the Wooll-Fleet of sixty saile was lately before departed for *Antwerp*, and could not possibly be called backe. But to make the first preparation, because a Mart could not subsist without exchange, liberty was granted to the



*English* Merchants to exchange and rechange mony for mony. As upon this occasion this profitable purpose was first delayed, so afterwards it was altogether dashed, first by the Kings sicknesse, after by his death.

Now, albeit the King was both deeply in debt, and had many extraordinary occasions; yet in regard of the troublesome times he did forbear to charge his subjects with such loanes and impositions as usually in peace breed discontent, and in turbulent times disquiet; but he chose rather to deale with the *Foulker* in the *Lowe-countries* for monies upon loane at a very high rate. And hereupon letters were directed from the Lords of the Councell to the *Foulker* at *Antwerp*, that he had received from the King sixty three thousand pounds *Flemmish* in February, and twenty foure thousand in Aprill next before, which amounted to eighty seven thousand



find pounds *Flemmish*. A faire  
summe to be payd in one yeere,  
especially in that busie world,  
when it was necessary for Prin-  
ces not to bee without mony.  
Hereupon, and for that they un-  
derstood that at that time hee  
was well able to forbear mony,  
they advised the King to pay to  
him only five thousand pounds  
of the forty five thousand which  
then remained unpaid, and to  
continue the rest at the usuall  
yearly interest of fourteen  
pounds for every hundred;  
wherewith they desired him to  
reaine good patience. Hereto  
the *Foulker* answered, that as he  
had found faire dealings before,  
so he would rest content to de-  
ferre payment of thirty thousand  
pounds, so as twenty thousand  
pounds thereof might bee well  
assured to be payd within some  
convenient time. All this was  
presently agreed, & no less faith-  
fully performed afterwards. And  
assuredly, as God is the Word,  
and



and cannot but make good his word; so a Prince so much loseth of his dignity, as hee declineth from his word.

About this time a garrison pay of ten thousand pounds was sent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, and the like to *Calice*, and in the same yeere five thousand into *Ireland*. Hereto if we adde the Kings great charges in fortification upon both the Frontiers of *Scotland* and *France*, the particulars whereof I omit, as matters now altogether of no use; it may easily bee discerned that the hostility with *Scotland* and *France*, and the incivility of *Ireland*, were a great part of the cause which held this frugall King thus dived in debt.

And for another meanes of raising of mony, commissions went forth for selling chantry lands and houses for payment of the Kings debts, given forth to be two hundred fifty one thou-



land pounds sterling at the least. Also to enquire of all Church goods, either remaining in Cathedral or Parish Churches, or embezeled away: And namely, of Jewels, of Gold and Silver, or silver Crosses, Candlestickes, Censers, Chalices, ready mony, Coapes and other Veltments, and reserving to every Church one Chalice and Covering for the Communion Table, the residue to be applyed to the benefit of the King. By their sales and enquiries the Kings wants were somewhat relieved; and many persons, very meane both for bittth and ability of mind; and of no lesse place of employment, found meanes to advance themselves to so great estate, as they left their posterity ranged among the Nobility of this Realme.

Of these Church purchasers I have seen many melt to nothing, and the residue shall be observed, either by riot or by impro-



improvidence to consume.

At the same time, for more assured strength of the Borders upon *Scotland*, order was settled, that no man in those parts should beare two offices at once, which not well observed in later yeeres, hath much derogated both from the dignity and discharge of offices, as well in State as in some inferiour places.

Another meanes for raising mony was practised, no lesse pleasing to the people, than profitable to the Common-wealth. And that was, by enquiring after offences of officers in great place, who, as by unjust dealing they became most odious, so by justice in their punishments the Prince acquireth both love and applause. And so one *Beaumont* Master of the Rolls was convinced, that in his office of Wards he had purchased lands with the Kings mony: Also, that he had lent above seven hundred pounds of the Kings mony, and  
forborne



forborn eleven thousand pounds of the Kings debts for his owne profit: Also, that being Master of the Rolls hee dealt corruptly in a case between the Duke of *Suffolke*, and the Lady *Powes*. For he bought the Ladies Tithe, and caused an Indenture to be forged from *Charles Brandon* the Duke, a little before deceased, purposing a grant of the lands in question from Duke *Charles* to the Lady *Powes*: Also, that he had concealed the felony of his servant, who having stolne from him two hundred pounds, hee tooke the mony to himselfe againe. Hereupon hee surrendered to the King all his offices, lands and goods, in satisfaction as well for the monies due by him to the King, as of the fines which his offences had merited: He was a man of a dull and beavie spirit; and therefore the more senselessly devoted in his sensuall avarice.

One *Whaly*, Receiver of *Yorks-*  
*shire*,



*shire*, acknowledged how he had lent the Kings mony for gaine, how he ever payd one yeers revenue with the arterages of the yeere before, how hee had bought the Kings land with the Kings mony, how he had made divers false accompts, how upon fall of mony he borrowed divers summes, whereby he gained 500 pounds at one crying down. For these misdemeanours he surrendered his office, and submitted himselfe to pay such fines as the King or his Councell should charge upon him.

The Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the *Duchy*, was convinced that hee had sold the Kings lands and timber woods without commission: That hee had taken great fines for the Kings lands, and applyed them to his proper use; and that he had made Leases in reversion for more than one & twenty yeers. For these offences he surrendered his office, and submitted himselfe



selfe to be fined at the pleasure of the King. So his fine was ghessest at six thousand pounds, whereof two thousand pounds were remitted, upon condition that the other foure thousand pounds should bee paid within the compasse of that yeere.

This he endured with a manly patience, as knowing right well, that hee held all the residue of his estate upon courtesie of those who hated him at the heart. It was at the first suspected, and afterwards expected by all, that among other matters objected against the Lord *Paget*, the chiefe, or at least one, should have bin for contriving to banquet the Lords at his house, and under pretence thereof to take off their heads, which was the onely cause for which the Duke of *Somerset* lost his head. But because no mention was made thereof, because about the same time the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, *Banister* and *Crane*, and



and a little after, the Earle of *Arundel* were freely discharged, having bin imprisoned for this conspiracy, the conceit was taken, that the Dukes head was the only aime, and that the residue were used but as a countenance of State to dazle the people.

Letters were sent to the Governour of *Gernesey*, that Divine Service should there be used according to the forme of the Church of *England*. A King of Armes, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*; his province was all *Ireland*, and he was the first fourth King of Armes, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*.

Whilest these matters were in action, the Emperours Embassadour in *England* delivered letters to the King from the Regent in the *Lowe-countries* importing, that whereas the King was bound by a treaty between the Emperour and the Kings father at *Lutrecht* in the



yeere 1542. that if the *Lowe-countries* should be invaded, the King should aide him with five thousand foot, or seventy crowns a day during foure moneths, and that this aide should be performed, within one moneth after request. For so much as the *French King* invaded *Luxemburg*, the Emperour required aide of the King of *England*, according to the effect of that treaty.

Hereupon order was given, that if the Embassadour did move for answer to this letter, he should be told by two of the Councell, that during the Kings progresse his Councell was dispersed, whose advice he was desirous to heare. And further, that the King had committed the same treaty to bee perused by men, whose judgements, as hee did much respect, so would he expect a time untill their opinions might be heard. And in case that after this the Embassadour



der should againe require an answer, then they should say that the King having lately wrestled out of most dangerous warres, wherewith his young yeares were over-blurthened, he hoped well that the Emperour would not desire to thrust him into the like againe. That he had sworne amity with the *French* King, which hee could not with his honour breake, and therefore if the Emperour should deeme it so meet, he would mediate a peace as a friend to both, which he should best effect, by forbearing to use hostility against either. And in case the Embassadour should still persevere to urge the treaty, they were lastly directed to answer, that the King did not hold himselfe bound by that treaty, as both made by his Father, & evidently prejudiciall to his Realm. For albeir agreements of peace are perpetuall and bind the successor, yet it is not so in ag-



ments of society and confederation. And this the Emperour did not well understand: for when the King in his last warres desired to enter a new treaty with the Emperour, hee returned answer, that it should not need; for albeit the King were discharged by his Fathers death, yet the Emperour was still bound. And again the Emperour had not for his part performed the treaty, as well in hindring the carriage of horses, armour, and munition, which the King had provided for his warres, as also in neglecting to send aid when the low Country of *Calice* was forraged, and therefore hee did not justly demand performance thereof from the King.

I know it hath beene often in like sort answered, that treaties dissolve by death of those who made them; for so the *Fidels* held themselves discharged of the league which they had made with *Romanus* after his



his death. And the *Latines* did the like after the death of *Tullius*, and likewise after the death of *Anus*. The *Etrurians* affirmed the like after the death of *Priscus*; and the *Sabines* after the death of *Servius*: and again, after that *Tarquinus* was cast out of state. I know also, that the difference is great between a league of peace, and a league of society and confederation: But I will not touch every string of this question, which *Hottoman* calleth a noble question, and much tossed and debated, partly because it consisteth of many knotty and thorny distinctions, wherein approved authors doe not well agree; but chiefly because at this time it fell not to be a difference between the Emperour and the King.

For when the Embassadors first came for answer to this letter, Master *Wotton* and Master *Hobby* answered according to the first branch of their instructions.



hons, wherewith he departed  
well satisfied for the present;  
and before he called for answer  
again, one *Stukely* arrived out  
of *France*, and declared to the  
Councell how the *French King*,  
being perswaded that *Stukely*  
would never returne into *Eng-  
land*, because he departed with-  
out leave upon apprehension of  
the Duke of *Somerset* his Ma-  
ster, bewraied to him, that if he  
could procure peace with the  
Emperour, he intended to be-  
siege *Calice*, and was in hope to  
carry the Towne by way of the  
hills, & that from thence win-  
ning *Rice banke*, he might both  
furnish the Towne, and beat the  
Market place. How he further  
said, that he intended to land in  
some angle of *Scotland* about  
*Falmonth*, because *Bulwarkes*  
there might easily be wonne, and  
the people were for the most  
part *Catholikes*. And further,  
that at the same time *Monsieur*  
*de Guise* should enter *England*  
by



by the way of *Scotland*, not only with good leave, but with aid and conduct from the *Scotts*.

Upon this discovery the King assembled his Councell at *Windsor*, and entred with them into deliberation, whether it were either safe for him or no disadvantage to him, to rely so securely either upon the strength or faith of *France*, as either to refuse or neglect to afford aide unto the Emperour, and thereby happily incurre his hostility.

Many were of opinion that the King should condescend to aide the Emperour. First, for that if the King were desirous to hold the Emperour bound by the treaty made with the Kings father, hee must also be obliged thereby; otherwise it was like halting league, and could not possibly goe upright. Then for that if the Emperour should not bee aided, the house of *Burgundie* was like to be devoured by the *French*, whereby the

great



greatnesse might grow dread-  
full, especially to *England*. Then,  
for that againe the *French* King  
had drawne the *Turke* into  
Christendome, and therefore  
was to be resisted as a common  
enemy. And further, in case the  
Emperour upon extremity  
should compose agreement with  
the *French*, the danger to *Eng-  
land* would be double: First, up-  
on offence taken by the Empe-  
rour, then upon the *French*  
Kings old disposition, edged by  
every new displeasure, wherein  
the devotion of the Bishop of  
*Rome* would not bee wanting.  
And againe, the *English* Mer-  
chants were so ill intreated in  
the Empire, the Realme was so  
much engaged in honour and in  
weakth, as some remedy was to  
be sought, & none better than by  
giving aide. Lastly, the *French*  
Kings proceedings were no lesse  
doubtfull than fearfull, not only  
in regard of *Stukelies* report (not  
together to be neglected) but  
S by



by reason of his breaking and firing divers *English* ships, the ancient strength and fortresses of the Realme.

Others were of advice, that the Emperours demands of aide should be denied: First, for that it would be too chargeable, and almost impossible for the *English* to performe: Then, for that when the Emperour should dye, the whole weight of the warre would roll upon the *English*. And further, the *Germanie* Protestants would be offended herewith, and conceive some doubts of their owne estates. Lastly, there was hope that the enmity with *France* would not long continue, but amend; and that the Embassadors then lately sent would repaire all harmes done by the *French* upon *English* ships.

Between both these the King stroke a midling judgement, to aide the Emperour against the *French* King, as other Ch



Christian Princes should also adjoyn, and that for no other cause, but as a common enemy, for drawing the *Turkes* forces upon them.

That hereby, as the cause was common, so would there bee more parties to it. And this also would moderate the charge of aiding the Emperour according to the treaty; and whensoever the Emperour should dye or breake off, it was likely that some of those Princes and Parties should remaine, so as the King should not stand alone. Moreover, this friendship would much advance the Kings other affaires in *Germany*. And finally, it would bee honourable to breake with the *French* King upon this common quarrell.

Against this advice of the King, two objections were made; one, that the treaty must bee entertained with so many, that it could not be speedily or secretly concluded: the other,



that in case the purpose should be discovered, and not concluded, the *French* might be provoked thereby to practise the like confederation against the *English*.

All these the King did knit up in this conclusion: First, that the treaty should be made only with the Emperour, and by the Emperours meanes with other Princes. Secondly, that the Emperours acceptance should be well understood, before any treaty were either entered or entertained against the *French*.

Herenpon letters were dispatched to Master *Morison* the Kings Embassadour with the Emperour, whereby he was directed to declare to the Emperour how the King, touched with pity at the invasion of Christian countries by the *Turkes*, would willingly joyne with him and other States of the Empire (in case the Emperour could bring it to passe) in some league



gainst the *Turkes*, and against their confederates. But caution was given, that hee should not once mention the *French King*, nor answer any mention made of him, only to say that his commission extended no further; but if the Emperour would send a messenger into *England*, he should happely know more.

Herewith, and because time beatech out truth, letters were sent to Master *Pickering* the Kings Embassadour in *France*, to know whether *Stukely* had acquainted him with any of those matters which hee had disclosed in *England*; and with what familiarity the *French King* used him, or by what other circumstances hee could conceive his report to be true. Herewith also the Lord *Gray* was chosen Deputy of *Calice*, and the Lord *Wentworth* removed, as one whose youth and want of



experience was held unfit to governe that charge in turbulent times. On the other side, Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* was removed from being Porter of the Towne, by reason of his old age, but had an hundred pounds yearly pension assigned him for his life. Also by abating needles expences, to be the better enabled against charge, the severall tables for young Lords, for the Masters of Requests, and for Sergeants at Armes were laid downe, and divers extraordinary allowances were taken away. And further, because the King was to make payment of forty eight thousand pounds beyond the Seas, and had but fourteen thousand pounds towards the summe, three hundred of the chiefe Merchants Adventurers granted to him a lode of forty thousand pounds for three moneths, to bee levied from the Clothes which they were then to transport after the rate of twenty



twenty Shillings for every Cloth. But these Adventurers went not upon any adventure, because at that shipping forty thousand broad Clothes were by them transported.

Whilest these matters were in action, two Lawyers arrived in *England*, with direction from the *French* King, to declare what matters had bin determined against the *English* by the *French* Kings Councell, and upon what reasons: And also what matters were then depending, and what care and diligence was used in those dispatches. They were much commended by all for their modest behaviour, and their sweet eloquence much delighted the King, who againe in a short speech first thanked the *French* King for his desire to give him satisfaction, then commended them for well performing their charge; but for the substance of their businesse, he referred them



to London, where some of his Councell should commune thereof fully with them. Here Master Secretary *Peeter*, and Master *Wotton*, and Sir *Thomas Smith* laid before them the grievances of the *English* Merchants, whose losses by the *French* exceeded the summe of fifty thousand pounds. To this the Embassadors gave little answer, but said, they would make report thereof at their returne into *France*, affirming that they had no commission, but only to declare the manner and causes of judiciall proceedings.

Presently after their returne *Monsieur Villandry* was sent againe in post to the King, to declare unto him, that albeit Master *Sydneies* and Master *Winters* matters went justly against them, yet because they were the Kings servants, and one of them in place neere his person, the *French* King was content freely to give to  
Master



Master *Sydney* his ship and all his goods in her, and to Master *Winter* his ship and all his own goods. But this offer the King refused, affirming that he required nothing freely, but expected justice and expedition. *Villandry* shewed further, that the King his Master was desirous, that the ordinances & customes of *England* and *France* touching Marine affaires might bee reduced into one forme, without any difference betweene them. Whereto answer was made, that the *English* ordinances for Marine affaires were no other than the civill lawes, and certaine ancient edicts of the Realm, wherein they could conceive no reason or conveniency of change, having long continued without reproofe. After this *Villandry* brought forth two Proclamations not long before published in *France*, very advantageable for the *English*; for the which hee had



a letter of thanks to the King his Master. Lastly, which was indited the maine of his message, and whereto all other were but insinuations, he desired that certaine *Frenchmen*, taken upon the coast of *England*, might be released. Hereto he received answer, that they were Pirats, and that some of them should by justice bee punished, and some might happely by clemency be spared; so with this dispatch he returned for *France*.

But before it was conceived he could be fully at home, he came againe to the *English* Court, and there declared to the King, how the King his Master would deliver foure ships, against which judgement had bin given; and that hee would appoint men of good sort and sufficiency to heare the *English* Merchants at *Paris*, and that hee would alter his ordinances for Marine affaires, of which emendations he then sent a copy



to the King. The King appointed his Secretaries to consider thereof: and after some passages of time *Villandry* had his answer: That the King intended not by receiving foure ships freely to prejudice his right in the rest: That the appointing of an inferiour Councell to heare Merchants at *Paris*, after former tedious suits in a higher Court, hee thought would be but dilatory, and so to little purpose, because the inferiour Councell would never undoe that (albeit good cause should appear) which had been judged by a higher Councell: That the new ordinances hee liked no better than hee did the old; and therefore desired no other than the customs which of late times had been used in *France*, and then continued in force between *England* & the *Low-countries*. Lastly, hee desired no more words but deeds.

And now were letters returned



ned from Master *Pickering* out of *France*, whereby he advertised the King how *Stukely* never discovered any of those speeches to him, which since hee had charged upon the *French* King. And further, that he never was either in credit, or conversant with the *French* King or with the Constable, nor ever resorted unto them, except once, when hee was Interpreter between the Constable and certain *English* Pioners; wherefore, as it was very like, so did he verily beleeve, that as the *French* King was alwaies close and reserved amongst his best known friends, so would hee not bee open and uncircumspect, to impart a matter of such import to a meere stranger, and in a most unseasonable time.

Hereupon *Stukely* was examined againe; and then finding it dangerous alike to confess a truth, or stand to a lye, hee became more unconstant and  
variable



variable than hee was before : wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and notice was given to the *French* Kings Embassadour of all those proceedings, to the intent that hee might acquaint his Master with them. Letters were also sent to the Kings Embassadour in *France*, directing him to aduertise the *French* King of all these matters, & that for two speciall ends: One to manifest the Kings confidence in his amity with *France*. The other to bring the *French* King into suspicion against all *English* fugitives, who resorted daily to his Court. And so because no better person was the author, incredible fables were not beleev- ed. But hereupon some began to discourse that the accusations against the Duke of *Somerset* were no lesse improbable, and upon the credit of no better persons ; and therefore might happely be no lesse untrue. But the difference is great between both



both the persons & the facts of a Sovereigne Prince, and of a Subject.

And now, when the *French* King understood as well the imputation which *Stukely* had raised as his imprisonment: First, hee deeply protested his innocence in his particular, and his generall sincere meaning for preserving amity with *England*. Then he much blamed *Stukelies* villany, and no lesse thanked the King, as well for that he had not afforded a credulous eare to such mischievous devices, wherein the tender touch of his estate might haply have excused his error, as for his Princely manner in acquainting him therewith.

On the other side, when Master *Morrison*, the Kings Embassadour with the Emperour, had opened the matters given him in charge, touching a league against the *Turke*, and against his confederates; the Emperour  
much



much thanked the King for his gentle offer, and promised to procure the Regent to send over some persons of credit to understand the Kings further meaning. Soone after Master *Thomas Grosbarn* came from *Antwerp* into *England*, and declared to the Councell how *Monsieur Longie* the Emperours Treasurer in *Flanders*, was sent to him from the Regent with a packet of letters, which the *Burgundians* had intercepted in *Bullois*, sent (as it was said) from the Dowager of *Scotland*, wherein she set forth how she had imprisoned *George Paris* an *Irishman*, because shee understood, that upon grant of his pardon he had a meaning to come into *England*; and how she had sent *Oconners* sonne into *Ireland*, to give encouragement to the *Irish* Lords: Also, he shewed instructions given about foure yeeres before upon the fall of the Admirall of *France*, to a Gentleman



man then comming from *England*, that if any were in *England* of the Admiralls faction, he should doe his best to excite a trouble.

The Deputy of *Ireland* was at that time ready to transport into *England*. But upon this advertisement Sir *Henry Knowles* was sent in post to stay him there ; yet with caution, that hee should pretend to stay upon his owne occasions : And thereupon deferred his departure from weeke to weeke , lest the true reason should be discerned. Letters of thanks were also sent to the Regent for this gentle overture : and the messenger was directed to use pleasing words in the delivery of the letter ; and to wish a further amity between the two States : and further, to acquaint her with the *French Kings* practice, in waging five thousand *Scottish* footmen, and five hundred horsemen, and how hee  
tooke



tooke up one hundred thousand pounds by exchange at *Lubeck*, whereby the conjecture was evident, that hee had some meaning against the Emperour in the Spring then next following. Doubtlesse, the advertisements of neighbour Princes are alwaies much to be regarded, for that they receive intelligence from better authors and surer grounds than persons of inferiour note and sort.

About this time one of the Earle of *Tyrone*s men was committed to the Tower, for making an untrue complaint against the Deputy and Councell of *Ireland*, and for bruiting abroad how the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Earle of *Pembroke* were fallen into quarrell, and one of them against the other in the field.

In Aprill, in the sixth yeere of the reigne of the King, hee fell sicke of the Meazles, whereof in short time hee well recovered.



covered: afterwards he sickned of the small Poxe, which breaking kindly from him, was thought would prove a meanes to cleanse his body from such unhealthfull humours, as commonly occasion long sicknesse or death. And hereof hee also so perfectly recovered, that in the Summer next following he rode his progresse with greater magnificence than ever before. For, whether it were to maintain his majesty, or to manifest the feare which had bin formerly impressed, he carried with him a band of three hundred and twenty men, which made up his whole traine above the number of foure thousand horse. But because this multitude was burthenome to the Country through which he passed, which did afford little meadow or pasture, because also it seemed to bewray distrust, as if the King should thinke, that he rather marched among dangerous Rebels, than tooke his pleasure



pleasure among faithfull and quiet disposed subjects, about the middest of his progresse the greatest part was discharged. For furnishing the charge of this progresse five hundred pounds weight of gold was coined with one thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

Soon after the King did complaine of a continuall infirmity of body, yet rather as an indisposition in health, than any set sicknesse.

And about that time certaine prodigies were seen, either as messengers or signes of some imminent and eminent evill. At *Middleton*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a female childe, which had two bodies from the navell upward, & united at the navell, as when they were laid in length, the one stretched directly opposite to the other; from the navell downward it was but one: it lived weakly eighteen daies, and then both



both bodies dyed together. Upon birth of such monsters the *Grecians*, and after them the *Romans* did use divers sorts of expiations, and to goe about their principall Cities with many solemne ceremonies and sacrifices, supposing hereby that wrath from heaven was menaced against them. At *Quinborough* three great Dolphins were taken, and a few dayes following at *Blackwall* sixe, which were brought to *London*, the least in bignesse exceeding any horse. After this, three great fishes were taken at *Gravesend*, called *Whirlepooles*, and drawne up on the Kings bridge at *Westminster*. These accidents the more rarely they happen, the more ominous are they commonly esteemed, either because they are so indeed, or because they are never observed but when sad events doe ensue.

In January, about the beginning of the seventh yeere of the

Kings



Kings reigne, his sicknesse did more apparently shew it selfe, especially by the symptome of a rough strong streining cough. All the medicines and diet which could be prescribed, together with the helps both of his young age, and of the rising time of the yeere, were so farre either from curing or abating his grieve, that it daily increased by dangerous degrees; and it was not onely the violence of the cough that did infect him, but therewith a weaknesse and faintnesse of spirit, which shewed plainly, that his vitall parts were most strongly and strangely assaulted: and the talke thereof among the people was so much the more, through an opinion obscurely raised, but running as most absurd, that his sicknesse grew by a slow working poyson. Upon this cause it happened, that a Parliament beginning upon the first day of March, was upon the last of the



the same moneth dissolved.

And now the danger of the Kings sicknesse was much lamented, not only by his owne people, but by strangers abroad, because his courtesie and wisdom had begot to him such love, that hee was no lesse honoured by those who heard of him, than of those who conversed with him. For he was famous in all places by reason of his fore-sight and judgement in affaires, and did so well temper the greatnesse of his estate both with modesty and with gravity, that hee avoided envie by the one, and contempt by the other. Some compared him with the greatest persons that had been both for warre and peace, because in the like pitch of yeeres none of them attained to the like perfections. Haply hee did not appear in souldiery so great, but that was, because he was not rash, being also drawne back from his pursuits abroad by domesticall



metlicall disorders and divisions, both amongst the people and Nobility of his Realme, by reason whereof he scarce seemed well settled in his Chaire of Estate, and yet his fortunes were alwaies victorious.

It hapned during his sickness, that Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London* preached before him, and in his Sermon much commended works of charity, which, as they were a duty for all men to performe, so most especially for men in most especiall dignity and place, as well in regard of their large abilities, as for that they were much obliged to give examples of goodnesse to others. The same day, after dinner, the King sent for him privately into the Gallery at *White-Hall*, caused him to sit in a chaire by him, would not permit him to remaine uncovered, and then after courteous thanks, hee reported all the principall points of his Sermon. And



And further added, I tooke my selfe to be especially touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities which God hath given me, as in regard of the example which from mee he will require. For, as in the Kingdom I am next under God, so must I most neerly approach to him in goodnesse and in mercy: for, our miseries stand most in need of help from him, so are we the greatest debtors; debtors to all that are miserable, & shall be the greatest accomptants of our dispensation therein: And therefore my Lord, as you have given me (I thanke you) this generall exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular action I may this way best discharge my duty.

The Bishop, partly astonished and partly over-joyed with these speeches, was stricken into a sad silence for a time. At last teares and words breaking forth together, hee declared to the King,

King.



King, that as hee little expected such a question, so was hee not furnished with a present answer: for this matter had a great mixture of a civill government, wherein hee conceived that the Citizens of London had best experience, as over-burthened with multitudes of poore, not only of their owne, but from all parts of the Realme besides; and therefore, as they best know both the quality of such people, and the conveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what remedies were fittest: wherefore, if the King were pleased to afford his Letters to that effect, hee would conferre with them, and in very short time retorne with answer. The King forthwith caused his Letters to be written, & would not suffer the Bishop to depart, till hee had firmed them with his hand and signet, and appointed the Bishop to be the messenger.

T



messenger, imposing great charge for expedition. The Bishop hastened with his Letters to the Lord Mayor, who presently assembled certaine Aldermen, and foure and twenty Commissioners, by whose advice the poore were cast into three companies and sorts: some were poore by impotency of nature, young fatherlesse children, old decrepit persons, Ideots, Cripple, and such like: others were poore by faculty, as wounded souldiers, diseased and sick persons, and the like: the third sort were the poor by idleness or thriftinesse, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loyterers, lewd strumpets and their companions: That the first of these were to be educated and maintained; the second to be cured and relieved; and the third to be chastised and reduced to good order.

When this was presented to the King, he gave to the City for education and maintenance



of the first sort of poore the  
*Gray-Friers Church* neer *New-  
gate-market*, with all the reve-  
nues thereto belonging: for cure  
and reliefe of the second sort, he  
gave *Saint Bartholomewes* neer  
*Smithfield*: for correction of  
the third he appointed his house  
at *Bridewell*, the ancient mansi-  
on of many *English Kings*, and  
which not long before had been  
repaired & beautified by *Henry*  
the eighth, for the entertain-  
ment of the great Emperour  
*Charles* the fifth. For increase of  
maintenance of these places, to-  
gether with the new re-edified  
Hospitall of *Saint Thomas* in  
*Southwarke*, the King gave se-  
ven hundred and fifty markes  
yeerly out of the rents of the  
Hospitall of *Saint John Baptist*,  
at the *Savoy*, with all the bed-  
ding and furniture at that time  
belonging to that place: And  
when the charter of this gift was  
presented unto him with a blank  
space for lands to be afterwards



received in Mortmaine, to a yeerly value; without further licence, the King presently with his owne hand filled up the void space with these words (*Four thousand markes by yeere*): this done with reverent gesture and speech, he thanked God for prolonging his life to finish that businessse; and so hee was the first Founder of those three pious workes, which by many additions are now growne to bee the most absolute and famous of that kind in *Europe*.

The Kings sicknesse daily increased, and so did the Duke of *Northumberland* diligence about him; for hee was little absent from the King, and had alwayes some well assured espie how the estate of his health changed every houre, and the more joyfull he was at the better, the more sorrowfull appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any tokens of poyson did appeare, reports are various; cer-



tainly his Physicians discerned an invincible malignity in his disease, and the suspicion did the more increase, for that the complaint being chiefly from the lights, a part, as of no quick sense, so no fear for any sharpe disease, yet his sickness towards the end grew highly extreme; but the Duke regarded not much the muttering multitude, knowing right well that rumours grow stale, and vanish with time; and yet somewhat either to abate or delay them for the present, he caused speeches to be spread abroad, that the King was well recovered in health, which was readily beleaved, as most desired to be true.

Hereupon all persons expressed joy in their countenance and speech, which they enlarged by telling the newes to others whom they incountred, who haply had heard it often before; and as the report increased, so therewith increased also the joy:



Thus, whilest every man beleev-  
ed, and no man knew, it was  
made more credible by religious  
persons, who openly in Churches  
gave publike thankes for the  
Kings recovery.

But when the speech of his  
danger was againe revived; and,  
as in newes it happeneth, the  
more stopped the more increa-  
sed to the worse: then, as if the  
second time he had bin lost, the  
people did immoderately break  
forth into passions, complaining  
that for this cause his two Un-  
cles had bin taken away; for this  
cause the most faithfull of his  
Nobility and of his Conncell  
were disgraced and removed  
from Court; this was the reason  
that such were placed next his  
person, who were most assuredly  
disposed either to commit or  
permit any mischief: that then  
it did appeare, that it was not  
vainly conjectured some yeeres  
before by men of judgement and  
fore-sight, that after *Somersets*  
death



death the King should not long enjoy his life. To qualifie these and some broader speeches, it was thought convenient that the King sometimes should shew himselfe abroad, albeit little either with his pleasure or for his health; yet a thing, which in long consuming sicknesses, even to the last period of life, men are often able to doe.

Whilest the King remained thus grievously sick, divers notable marriages were solemnized at once in *Durham* place. The Lord *Guilford*, fourth sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, married Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolkes* eldest daughter, by *Frances* daughter to *Mary* second sister to King *Henry* the eighth: Also the Earle of *Pembrokes* eldest sonne married the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Suffolkes* second daughter by the said Lady *Frances*, who then was living. And *Martin Kayes*, Gentleman Porter, married

T 4      *Mary*



*Mary* the third daughter of the Duke of *Suffolke* by the said Lady *Frances*: Lastly, the Lord *Hastings*, sonne to the Earle of *Huntington*, took to wife *Katherine* youngest daughter to the Duke of *Northumberland*. Hereupon the common people, upon a disposition to interpret all *Northumberlands* actions to the worst, lest nothing unspoken, which might serve to stirre their hatred against the Duke, or pity towards the King: but the Duke was nothing moved hereat; for being equally obstinate, both in purpose and desire, and mounting his hopes above the pitch of reason, hee resolved then to dissemble no longer, but began openly to play his game.

For albeit the Lady *Jane*, married to his fourth sonne, had not right to the succession of the Crowne, for that she was excluded, first, by the two Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, daughters of King *Henry* the eighth; next,



by the issue of Lady *Margaret* married into *Scotland*, eldest sister to King *Henry* the eighth: Lastly, by her owne mother the Lady *Frances*, who then was living, yet *Northumberland*, fortisly mad with over great fortune, procured the King by his Letters Patents under the great Seale of *England*, to appoint the Lady *Jane* to succeed him in the inheritance of the Crowne. In this contrivance he used the advice of two especially, Lord chief Justice *Montague*, who drew the Letters Patents, and Secretary *Cecil*. These furnished the Patent with divers reasons, whereof some were of Law, and some of policy in State: The pretensions of Law were these, that albeit the Crown of the Realm, by an Act of the five and thirtieth of King *Henry* the eighth, was in default of his issue of his body, & of the body of *Edward* his sonne lawfully begotten, limited to remaine to the Lady:

T 5. Mary



*Mary* his eldest daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the Lady *Elizabeth* his second daughter, and to the heires of her body lawfully begotten, under such conditions as should be limited by the said King under his Letters Patents under the great Scale, or by his last Will in writing, signed with his hand; yet because the said limitations were made to persons illegitimate, both the marriages between King *Henry* the eighth and their severall mothers being undone by sentences of divorce, and the severall divorcements ratified by authority of Parliament, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of King *Henry* the eighth, which Act remained then in force, both the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were thereby disabled to claime the Crowne, or any Honours or Hereditaments, as heires to King

*Edward*



*Edward* the sixth, or any other person.

And againe, the said two Ladies, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, being but of the halfe bloud to King *Edward*, albeit they had been borne in lawfull matrimony, yet by the ancient Lawes of the Realme they were not inheritable to him by descent, and had no capacity in any degree to receive any inheritance from him.

The reasons or pretexts of necessity to the State were these: In case the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should enjoy the Crowne, they would assuredly joyne in marriage with some stranger, who should reduce this noble and free Realme into the servitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, and thereby bring in foraine customes and lawes, abolishing those whereupon the rights of all native subjects depend: and haply the whole body of the Realme should hereby be annexed.



annexed as a member to some other greater Kingdome, to the utter subversion of the ancient dignity and estate thereof; the people were not unlike to elect a King of some private Stocke, a popular and seditious man, peradventure one, who to countenance his owne unworthines and obscurity, would little regard what contumely hee cast upon the falling Family of the Kings before him: wherefore he held it the most provident advice, that the King by his authority should designe not only his next Successour, but others also in reversion, that the Crowne might not be subject to rifling, but remaine to those whom hee loved, and who humoured him best.

These reasons did more easily sinke into the Kings judgement, partly, by meanes of the great affection which hee bare to the Religion that hee had established, of the change whereof he



was assuredly perswaded, in case the Lady *Mary* his sister should succeed; and partly, by reason of the entire love hee bare to his Cousin the Lady *Jane*, a woman of most rare and incomparable perfections: For besides her excellent beauty adorned with all variety of virtues, as a cleare skie with stars, as a Princely Diadem with jewels, shee was most deare to the King in regard both of her Religion, and of her education in the knowledge of the liberall Sciences, and skill in Languages; for in Theology, in Philosophy, in all liberall Arts, in the Latine and Greeke tongues, and in the vulgar Languages of divers neere Nations shee farre exceeded all of her sexe, and any of her yeeres, unlesse haply the King himselfe.

Hereupon the King consented, that Letters Patents should bee drawne, importing that in case the King should dye without



ont issue of his body lawfully begotten, then the Imperiall Crowne of *England* and *Ireland*, with his title to the Crowne of *France*, and all things to them belonging, should remaine and come to the eldest sonne of the Lady *Frances*, daughter to the Lady *Mary*, youngest sister to *Henry* the eighth, in case such issue should bee borne into the world during the life of King *Edward*; and after to the heires male of the said issue, and in like sort from sonne to sonne of the said Lady *Frances* lawfully begotten, as they should bee in priority of birth, and borne during the Kings life: and in default of such sonnes and of heires male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said Crowne, and all the premises should remaine and come to the Lady *Jane*, eldest daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, and the heires males of her lawfully begotten: and for default of such



the said Crowne to remain  
to the Lady *Katherine*, second  
daughter to the said Lady *Frances*,  
with divers other remain-  
ders, all which, as they were  
vainly appointed, so are they  
needlesse to be repeated.

These Letters were dated the  
one and twentieth of June, in  
the seventh yeere of King *Ed-  
wards* reigne, and by him signed  
when he was in great debility of  
body, and afterwards passed un-  
der the great Scale of *England*.  
And albeit the course contri-  
vance was almost visible: first,  
for that such provision was made  
for the issue male of the said La-  
dy *Frances*, who neither at that  
time had any, and was common-  
ly reputed to be past yeeres of  
child-bearing: secondly, for that  
in case, that beyond the ordi-  
nary course of nature she should  
conceive, the hope was despe-  
rate, that the King should live  
untill the birth.

Lastly, for that her children,  
borne



borne and to be borne, were so carefully and orderly remembered, & no mention made of herself, from whom their title must bee derived; yet these Letters were subscribed by all the Privie Councillors, the greatest part both of number and power of the Nobility of the Realme, the Bishops, the Kings learned Councell, and all the Judges at the Common Law, except only Sir *James Holles*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, a man well observed to bee both religious and upright, who worthily refused to subscribe, and was unworthily requited by *Queen Mary* afterwards.

It is very like that some of these were guided with respect of their particular interest; for that they were possessed of divers lands which once pertained to Monasteries, Chantries, & other religious houses not long before dissolved: these they held themselves in some danger



to lose, in case Religion should change to the ancient forme, which by succession of Qu. *Mary* they did evidently fore-see.

Others were drawne partly by feare, and partly by obligation to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who then was exceeding potent, and almost absolute in government of the State, and supposed able to make any title good, either by his authority, or by his sword.

Now, whether a King may lawfully dispose by his Will, or otherwise, of a Kingdome that hath bin long carried in one form of succession, contrary to that ancient forme, I have largely discoursed in my History of the three *Norman* Kings, about the beginning of the reigne of King *William* the second; but certaine it is, that when Kingdomes have customably been carried by right of succession, according to proximity of bloud, the violation of which course hath  
alwayes



alwayes bin either very vaine, or with dangerous consequence, it hath alwayes bin like the breaking of a band which holdeth a sheafe of arrowes together, like a rupture in banks, which bindeth a river within its proper channell; or like a casting down of a pale, wherewith Deere or other beasts are inclosed: It was never done, but either no effect ensued, or bloody disorders, or haply both; and the Duke, by poyzing his ambitious purposes with his unjust policy, did no otherwise than often doth a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a card to win a stake, forfeits the whole rest.

But having thus in his owne opinion assured his owne devices, nothing remained but that the King should not longer survive, lest haply his sickly judgement might bee over-ruled by sounder advice. His disease was violent, but his Physicians conceived some hope of recovery, in



case hee might bee removed to  
change of healthfull aire, which  
infirmities of the vitall parts,  
the seat of his sickness, is of grea-  
test moment for the cure.

But hereto the Councell  
would not consent; so hee conti-  
nued without either any sensible  
mending or impairing for a  
time. At the last a Gentlewo-  
man, unworthy to be named, but  
accounted to be a school-mistres  
for the purpose, offered her ser-  
vice assuredly to cure him, in  
case he were committed wholly  
to her hand: Hereto the Physi-  
cians would in no case afford  
their advice; because, as shee  
could give no reason, either of  
the nature of the disease, or of the  
part afflicted, so she would not  
declare the meanes whereby she  
intended to work the cure.

After some shew of delibera-  
tion among the Councell, it was  
resolved, that the Physicians  
should bee discharged, and the  
cure committed to her alone.

The



The apparent defect both of her judgement and experience, joyned to the weightinesse of the adventure, caused many to marvell, and some deeply to suspect, that she was but an instrument of mischief. This surmise was strongly confirmed within a very short time ensuing, when the King did fall into desperate extremities, his vitall parts were mortally struffed, which brought him to a difficulty of speech and of breath, his legges swelled, his pulse failed, his skinne changed colour, and many other horrid symptoms appeared.

Then were the Physicians called againe, who espying him in that fearfull estate, departed from him with a sad silence, leaving him to the miserable mercy of neere approaching death. Some of these whispered among their private friends, that they were called for fashion only, but neither their advice nor appli-  
ances



ances were any deale regarded; but the King had been ill dealt with more than once, and that when by the benefit both of his youth and of carefull meanes, there were faire hopes of his recovery, hee was againe more strongly over-laid.

Yet, as cruelty and wrong never stand secure, so the Duke thought one thing more expedient for assuring his designs, and that was to draw the Lady *Mary* wholly into his power. To this purpose Letters were directed to her in the Kings name from the Councell, willing her forthwith to resort to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sicknesse, as to see all matters well ordered about him. The Lady, suspecting no lurking mischief, addressed her selfe with all speed to the journey, expressing great joy, that either her company or her service should be esteemed needfull to the King; but as she was upon the way,



way, and within halfe a dayes journey of *London*, her foot ready to slip into the snare, she received advice both of the Kings desperate estate, and of the Dukes designments against her: whereupon shee returned in haste to her house at *Hovvden*, where in a short time she heard how unprofitable her journey would have bin to *London*.

So the King, having long wrestled with a lingring and tormenting sicknesse, at the last his spirits yeilded to the malice of his disease, which, as with great patience he did endure, so with no lesse piety did hee end it. Many fervent prayers hee made, both for himselfe, and for the people of his Realme; and some when hee was esteemed almost past sense: and he spent his last breath in committing his sweet soule into the Almightyes hands which had created it.

He dyed at *Greenwich* upon  
Thursday



Thursday the sixth day of July,  
in the yeere 1553. and in the  
seventeenth yeere of his age,  
when he had reigned six yeeres,  
five moneths, and nine dayes.  
Two dayes his death was  
concealed, to open a straight  
way for the Dukes crooked pur-  
poses. His body was buried up-  
on the ninth of August in the  
same yeere, in the Chappell of  
Saint *Peters* Church in *West-*  
*minster*, and laid neere to the  
body of King *Henry* the  
seventh his Grand-  
father.

FINIS.



the first day of July.

The year 1777, and in the

year 1778, of the year

1779, of the year

1780, of the year

1781, of the year

1782, of the year

1783, of the year

1784, of the year

1785, of the year

1786, of the year

1787, of the year

1788, of the year

1789, of the year

1790, of the year

1791, of the year

1792, of the year

1793, of the year

1794, of the year

1795, of the year

1796, of the year

1797, of the year

1798, of the year

1799, of the year

1800, of the year

1801, of the year

1802, of the year

1803, of the year

1804, of the year



THE  
BEGINNING  
OF  
THE REIGNE  
OF  
QUEENE  
ELIZABETH.

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By Sr. J. H.

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LONDON,  
Printed for *John Partridge.*

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LONDON  
1794

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QUEENE  
ELIZABETH.

**H**He last sicknesse  
of Queene *Mary*  
was both excee-  
ding sharpe, and  
of long continuance, her bo-  
dy being wearied and almost  
wasted with the violence of  
her disease; her minde an-  
guished with thoughts, no  
lesse strange for variety, than  
strong for the great impor-  
tance they drew, whereof  
some (doubtlesse) were se-  
cret and singular. And whi-  
lest she lay thus languishing  
under the heauie hand of  
death, many false rumours

A dropfie  
& a consu-  
ming fea-  
ver.

The losse  
of *Cales*,  
& the neg-  
lect & ab-  
sence of  
her hus-  
band.

V 2      were



were spread abroad that she was dead: whereupon a notable example might have been seene, how in a royall State the surety of the common people depends much upon the safety and life of their Prince. For every mans minde was then travelled with a strange confusion of conceits, all things being immoderately either dreaded or desired. Every report was greedily both enquired and received, all truths suspected, divers tales believed, many improbable conjectures hatched and nourished: Invasion of strangers, civill dissention, the doubtful disposition of the succeeding Prince, were cast in every mans conceit as present perills; but no man did busie  
his



his wits in contriving remedies. They who held themselves in danger, seemed to desire nothing but safety: They who apprehended any opinion of safety, did rise into unreasonable desire of liberty; wherein they were as various as in any thing beside, as well for the particulars, as for the limits of that which they desired. In this medley of thoughts, some sought to secure themselves by adherents, some by adjoyning themselves to those, who had more to lose than themselves; some stood upon their proper strength, either for their owne preservation, or for abating of such as they esteemed too great. Generally, the rich were fearfull,



the wise carefull, the honestly disposed doubtfull, the discontented and the desperate, and all such whose desires were immoderate and duell, joyfully as wishing trouble, the gate of spoyle. During this time, a Parliament was held at *London*, where the Nobility of the Realme remained with more constant countenance, either as holding themselves assured, or for that they would not descend to any other seeming. When these had received certaine intelligence of the death of *Queen Mary*, they assembled together in the upper house, and after a short debatement, sent to the Speaker of the Parliament, desiring him to come to them forthwith, accompanied



companyed with the whole  
body of the lower House,  
for that they had to impart  
a matter of importance unto  
them.

When they were come,  
and had settled themselves  
to attention, Doctor *Heath*  
Archbishop of *Yorke*, and  
Lord Chancellour of *Eng-*  
*land*, with a composed coun-  
tenance and voice, as neither  
glad at the death of the old  
Prince, nor discontented at  
the new, declared to them  
the assured advertisement of  
the death of their *Queene*:  
That albeit the Parliament  
by this heauie accident did  
dissolve, yet for that they  
had bin elected to represent  
the common people of the  
Realme, and to deale for  
them in affaires of estate,  
V 4 they



they could no wayes better discharge that trust, than in joyning with the Lords to publish the next Successour to the Crowne : That the right and title of Lady *Elizabeth*, sister to the deceased Queene, and onely daughter then surviving of King *Henry* the eighth, was esteemed by the Lords free from all quarrell, free from all question and doubt: That in no case expedition is more expedient, than in these high passages of State, for extinguishing as well the vaine hopes of enemies, as the false and needlesse feares of friends: That for this cause the Lords had desired their presence, that with joint consent of the whole assembly the Lady *Elizabeth* might forthwith



forthwith bee proclaimed  
Queene.

The Knights and Burges-  
ses gave easie consent to that  
which they saw no reason to  
deny. If happely some few  
had no inclination that way,  
yet being unable to stay the  
course of so great a current,  
they were content not to  
shew a will to affect that,  
which they had no power to  
effect. So the same day shee  
was proclaimed Queene by  
the principall Heralds at  
Armes, first, at the Palace  
at *Westminster* directly be-  
fore the Hall doore, after-  
wards at the Crosse in  
Cheap, and in other places  
of the City. This Ceremo-  
ny was performed upon  
Thursday, the seventeenth  
day of November, in the



yeere 1558. in the five and twentieth yeere of her age, when shee had been well instructed by experience and aduersity, two excellent teachers to her, who had a judgement farre beyond her yeeres. The same day *Reginald Poole* Cardinall, and not long before made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departed this life, doubtfull whether by naturall disease, or by violence of griefe, or by some other strong inforcement. Hee was one of the younger sons of *Margaret Countesse of Salisbury*, daughter to *George Duke of Clarence*, brother to King *Edward the fourth*. He was learned and eloquent, of no comely presence, but of good grace in delivering his speech:



speech: herewith haughty,  
ambitious, and vehement in  
pursuit of his purposes.  
Whereupon, as he had been  
formerly impatient for not  
attaining to the full degrees  
of his desires and hopes, so  
now most of all in fore-see-  
ing the abatement of his ho-  
nour, and the alteration of  
the religion which hee did  
professe, for establishment  
whereof in former times he  
had practised so farre, that  
hee had reason to conceive  
that he could not be endured  
in the change.

For the change in Religi-  
on which then ensued, and  
had also happened not long  
before, was easily fore-seene  
by men of understanding,  
not onely by reason of the  
consciencs of the Princes,  
formed



formed in them by their education, but also out of their particular interests and ends. For King *Henry* the eighth had taken to wife *Katherine* of *Arragon*, who had been formerly married to Prince *Arthur* his elder brother: for which marriage (being within the degrees expressly prohibited in *Leuiticus*) the Bishop of *Rome* gave a dispensation. Now King *Henry*, following the opinions of those Divines (as well Catholikes as Protestants) who judged those Prohibitions to bee naturall and morall, and that no power upon earth had power to grant a dispensation against them, put away Queen *Katherine*, and married Queen *Anne Bullen*, whilest she



he still remained in life. Of this *Katherine* hee had issue *Mary*; of *Anne Bullen*, *Elizabeth*. So it was a marvelous motive for Queen *Mary* to embrace and advance the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, for that the validity of King *Henries* marriage with Queene *Katherine* her mother, was thereupon grounded : And this hath not been the weakest thread in the Popes Net, by dispensing in such prohibited marriages, to hold Princes obnoxious unto him. But on the other side, because if the Bishop of *Rome* had power to dispence in the first marriage of King *Henry* the eighth, then was his subsequent marriage with *Anne Bullen* voide ; besides the command



command of conscience, it was also an inducement in reason for *Queene Elizabeth* to reject his authority. And albeit many great Princes doe neither so easily resist, nor so moderately follow their desires as other men, because, by how much more they are accustomed to bee honoured and obeyed, by so much lesse (advancing their wills above other respects) are they able to endure to have their purposes either frustrated or delayed. Yet was not this alteration brought in suddenly, and at once (as in other places it was usually done) but by a more felt than seen manner of proceeding. Yea, some colour of hope was conceived, that no alteration should be



be made at all ; for that a Proclamation was presently set forth, that no man should alter any Rites or Ceremonies at that time used in the Church : And because in such division of opinions, the Pulpits often serve as Drummes and Phyfes to inflame fury, Proclamation was made, that no man might preach, but such as should be allowed by authority ; and these also were charged to forbear treating of controversies in Religion, not to move dispute touching government, either for altering or retaining the present forme. Hereupon no Sermon was preached at *Paul's Crosse*, untill the Rehearsall Sermon was made upon the Sunday after Easter.



ster : At which time when the Preacher was ready to mount into the Pulpit, the key could not be found ; and when upon commandement of the Lord Mayor it was opened by a Smith, the place was very filthy and uncleane. Also the Ports and Havens were diligently kept, that no man might passe forth of the Realme, or enter therein, without either licence or notice at the least, whereby many suspicions and doubts, and happily some dangers, were prevented. Lastly, inhibition was straightly given, that no monies should be made over by exchange for a time.

And for that the presence of the Prince is of greatest moment to establish affaires,

the



the Queene, the next day after her title was proclaimed, removed from *Hasfield* in *Marfordshire*, where shee then lay, towards *London*; and was upon the way encountered and entertained in all places with such a concourse of people, with so lively representations of love, joy and hope, that it farre exceeded her expectation. The people of all sorts (even such whose fortunes were unlike either to bee amended or impaired by change) went many miles out of the City to see her, some upon particular affection to her person, others upon opinion of good to the State, some upon an ordinary levity and delight in change; and not a few, because



cause they would doe as others did; all upon causes dislike with like fervency contending who should most neerly approach unto her, who should most chearfully bestow upon her all honourable titles and happy wishes.

Now, if ever any person had either the gift or the skill to winne the hearts of people, it was this Queene; and if ever shee did express the same, it was at that present, in coupling mildnesse with majesty as she did, and in stately stouping to the meanest sort. All her faculties were in motion, and every motion seemed a well guided action: Her eye was set upon one, her care listened to another, her judgement



mentrann upon a third, to a fourth shee addressed her speech: Her spirit seemed to be every-where, and yet so entire in her selfe, as it seemed to bee no where else. Some she commended, some she pitied, some she thanked, at others she pleasantly and wittily jeasted, contemning no person, neglecting no office; and generally casting forth such courteous countenances, gestures and speeches, that thereupon the people againe redoubled the testimonies of their joy, and afterwards, raising every thing to the highest straine, filled the eares of all men with immoderate extolling their Prince.

Shee was a Lady, upon whom nature had bestowed  
and



and well placed many other fairest favours; of stature meane, slender, streight, and amiably composed; of such state in her carriage, as every motion of her seemed to beare majesty: her haire was enclined to pale yellow, her fore-head large and faire, a seemly seat for Princely grace: her eyes lively and sweet, but short sighted; her nose somewhat rising in the midst: the whole compasse of her countenance somewhat long, but yet of admirable beauty, not so much in that which is termed the flower of youth, as in a most delightfull composition of majesty and modesty in equall mixture. But without good qualities of minde, the gifts of nature

Flos xta-  
tis.

are



are like painted flowers;  
without either vertue or  
sap; yea, sometimes they  
grow horrid and loathsome.  
Now her vertues were such  
as might suffice to make an  
Ethiopian beautifull, which  
the more a man can know  
and understand, the more he  
shall admire and love. In life  
she was most innocent, in  
desires moderate, in purpose  
just; of spirit above credit  
and almost capacity of her  
sex; of divine wit, as well  
for depth of judgement, as  
for quicke conceit and speedy  
expedition; of eloquence,  
as sweet in the utterance, so  
ready and easie to come to  
the utterance: of wonderfull  
knowledge both in learning  
and affaires; skilfull not only  
in Latine and Greeke, but in  
divers



divers other forraine languages: None knew better the hardest art of all others, that is, of commanding men. Shee was religious, magnanimous, mercifull and just, respectiue of the honour of others, and exceeding tender in the touch of her owne. Shee was lovely and loving, the two principall bands of duty and obedience. Shee was very ripe and measured in counsell and experience, as well not to let goe occasions, as not to take them when they were Greene. Shee maintained Justice at home, and Armes abroad, with great wisdome and authority in either place. Her majesty seemed to all to shine through courtesie: but, as shee was not easie to receive



give any to especiall grace,  
 so was she most constant to  
 those whom shee received;  
 and of great judgement to  
 know to what point of  
 wealth men were fit to  
 be advanced. Shee was  
 rather liberall than magnifi-  
 cent, making good choice of  
 the receivers; and for this  
 cause was thought weake by  
 some against the desire of  
 money. But it is certaine,  
 that beside the want of trea-  
 sure which shee found, her  
 continuall affaires in *Scot-*  
*land, France, the Low-*  
*countries,* and in *Ireland,* did  
 occasion great provision of  
 money, which could not bee  
 better supplied, than by  
 cutting off either excessive  
 or unnecessary expence at  
 home. Excellent Queene!  
 what



what doe thy words  
wrong thy worth: what  
doe I but gild gold: what  
but shew the Sunne with a  
candle, in attempting to  
praise thee, whose honour  
doth flye over the whole  
world upon the two wings  
of magnanimity and justice,  
whose perfection shall  
much dimme the lustre of  
all others that shall bee of  
thy sexe: I will no longer  
stay upon generall descrip-  
tions, but proceed to such  
particular acts as shall mani-  
fest much more than I have  
said.

When shee came to Lan-  
don, shee was lodged the first  
night in the Charter-house  
where many great persons  
either for birth, or worthi-  
nesse, or place in the State  
resorted



resorted unto her ; and now  
rising from dejected feares  
to ambitious hopes, contem-  
ned who should catch the  
first hold of her favour. The  
Queene did beare her selfe  
moderately and respectfully  
to all, desiring them, if they  
would not bee deceived in  
her, that they would not be  
the first to deceive them-  
selves : That they would not  
prejudice her in their opini-  
ons, as not by uncourteous  
suspicious and doubts, so not  
by immoderate expectati-  
ons and hopes, promising to  
take themselves out of a sudden  
making more than is fit, or  
adventure possible to be  
performed ; the faillance  
whereof would either  
change or abate their loves:  
That they would lay aside



all fore-taken conceits,  
which, like painted glasse,  
doe colour all things which  
are seen through it. Lastly,  
that they would not too  
rashly judge of her actions,  
as being privie neither to  
the occasions of them, nor  
to their ends.

So after shee had passed  
the offices of Court, done to  
her by the Nobility and o-  
thers, the day following in  
the afternoone shee rode  
from thence to the Tower.  
At the Charter-house gate  
the Mayor of the City met  
her, and the Recorder with  
a short speech saluted her in  
the name of the whole City.  
Shee rode in very great state  
through *Barbican*, the  
Mayor riding with *Garri-  
King at Armes*, and carrying  
a Scepter



a Scepter before her : shee  
 entered at *Creplegate*, and so  
 passed by the Wall to *Bis-*  
*bopf-gate*. This gate was  
 richly hanged, and thereup-  
 on the Waits of the City  
 sounded loud musicke. At  
 the head of the street a  
 scholar of *Pauls Schoole*  
 made to her a short speech  
 in Latine Verses : Next unto  
 him stood the Company of  
 Mercers within their railes,  
 and after them all the other  
 Companies of the City, ex-  
 tending to the furthest end  
 of *Marilane*. When she en-  
 tered *Marilane* a peale of  
 Ordnance began at the  
 Tower, which continued  
 halfe an houre or there-  
 abouts. The presence of the  
 Queene gave perfection and  
 unto all these solemnities.



Shee answered such speeches as were made unto her; shee graced every person, either of dignity or employment; shee so cheerfully both observed and accepted every thing, that in the judgement of all men, all these honours were esteemed too meane for her worth. When shee was entered into the Tower, shee thus spake to those about her: Some have fallen from being Princes of this land, to be prisoners in this place, I am raised from being a prisoner in this place, to be Prince of this land. That dejection was a worke of Gods justice; this advancement a worke of his mercy: As they were to yeeld patience for the one, so I must beare



my selfe towards God  
thankfull, and to men merci-  
full and beneficiall for the  
other.

This place was prepared  
for her abode, both with  
furniture and officers of as-  
surance and credit: with the  
Lieutenant of the Tower  
two were joyned in Com-  
mission; one skilfull to put  
the house in order, the o-  
ther to make provision of  
diet. Here she remained un-  
till the fifth day of Decem-  
ber, and then removed by  
Barge to *Somerset* place in  
the Strand.

In the meane time cer-  
taine Commissioners were  
appointed for the Funerall  
of the deceased Queene, o-  
thers for the Coronation  
that was to ensue. New



Commissions were sent into *Wales*, and to the Marches of the North. *Thomas Earle of Essex* was appointed for *Ireland*, who with a garrison of three hundred twenty horse, and eight hundred sixty foot, kept that country in obedience, or at the least in awe. New Commissions were made to the Judges at the Common Law, to continue only untill the end of that Terme; but with exception, that they should not in the meane time bestow any offices. All the Councillers of State who had served *Queene Mary*, and favoured for the most part the Religion then established, were againe admitted to their places, and (for equaling the ballance) to them

were



were adjoynd *William Parre* Marquesse of *Northampton*, *Francis Russell* Earle of *Bedford*, *Thomas Parre*, *Edward Rogers*, *Ambrose Cane*, *Francis Knolles*, and *William Cecill*, and soon after *Nicholas Bacon*, men affecting the Protestant Religion. All these the Queene ruled with such moderation, as neither was shee obnoxious unto any of them, and all devoted and addicted to her.

Further, new Justices and Sheriffes were appointed in every Shire, and Writs went forth to summon a Parliament. Against the time of Coronation Embassadours were appointed to the Pope, to the Emperour, and other Princes of



Germany, to the French King, to the King of *Spain*, to the King of *Denmark*, and to the State of *Venice*, to renew leagues, to remove all prejudice that might be conceived, to performe unto them openly all ceremonies of State, and secretly to search into their inclinations. The Embassadour into *Spain* had further in charge, to make a thankfull acknowledgement in the name of the Queene, of all the honourable offices which the King did unto her whilest hee was married to Queene *Mary* her sister. The Embassadour to *Rome* entertained many treaties with the Pope. The Pope desired above all things, that Religion should not be changed



in England. This did not the  
Embassadour either obsti-  
nately deny, or any wayes  
grant; but it could not bee  
assured he said, unlesse the  
Pope would first declare to  
his Catholikes, that the  
marriage of the Queenes  
mother with King *Henry*  
was lawfull. This crosse re-  
quest so stumbled the Con-  
clave, that they made choice  
rather to do nothing, than to  
do that w<sup>ch</sup> they were not as-  
sured they should not repent.

Upon the thirteenth of  
December the body of  
Queene *Mary* was honou-  
rably conveighed from  
Saint *James* where she died,  
to the Abbey of *Westminster*,  
and there placed under a rich  
Herse, where it remained all  
that night. The next day af-



ter a Masse of *Requiem*, and a Sermon preached by Doctor *white* Bishop of *Winchester*, shee was buried on the North side of the Chappell, built by King *Henry* the seventh. Upon the foure and twentieth of December a solemne obsequy was kept in the same Abbey (*Queene Maries* Herse yet standing covered with a rich pall cloth of gold) for *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, who dyed in September next before; in which solemnity the Emperors Embassadour was principall mourner.

All this time no change was made, none attempted in matters of Religion, only a preparation thereto was made, by changing some officers both in Houshold and



in State. Among these, Doctor *Heath*, Archbishop of *Torke*, was removed from being Lord Chancellour of *England*, a man of most eminent and generous simplicity, who esteemed any thing privately unlawfull, which was not publikely beneficiall and good. But as it is no new thing for Merchants to breake, for Sailers to be drowned, for Souldiers to be slain; so is it not for men in authority to fall. Hee was the last Clergy man, who during the *Queenes* life did beare the honour of that place. In his stead Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, was made Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*, a man of great diligence and ability in his place, whose goodnesse



goodnesse preserved his greatnesse from suspicion, envie and hate. But upon the last of December Proclamation was published, that in all Churches the Letany, the Epistle and Gospel should be read in the English tongue, according as it was used in the Queenes Chappell; which, the day following, being Sunday, was done in all the Churches within *London*, or neere unto it. And, as this was the first act of the alteration which ensued, so was it most plausible to the common people.

The common people at that time conceived a hard opinion against the Clergy (howsoever blinded with selfe-love, they perswaded them-



themselves that they were loved) and charged them with many imputations, mens tongues being alwayes prone to taunt their superiours; and the worst speaking worst, in hope to shadow themselves under the blemishes of their betters. Some charged them with cruelty, in persecuting more to death for the cause of Religion in five yeeres during *Queene Maries* reigne, than had bin executed in thirty seven yeeres under King *Henry* the eighth. Some taxed them with covetousnesse, some with pride; vices happely observed in some, and maliciously extended to all. But all men were heard to murmur and complaine, that not onely the



the Scriptures, but the public Prayers were concealed from their understanding, as if thereby they were excluded (almost) from the condition of being Christians, in that they were not permitted to heare God by the one, nor to speake to him by the other. And, as in other countries these had bin the principall pretences of defection from the Church of *Rome*, so here this first morsell of Prayer and Scripture in the English tongue was not only most sweetly swallowed by the common people; but also served for a preparation to the further change which afterwards ensued.

Upon the twelfth of January the Queene removed



by water from *Westminster* to the Tower, attended with the Mayor, Aldermen, and other Citizens, in their Barges, adorned with Scutchions and Banners of their Mysteries, and sounding loud musicke all the way. Shee passed under the Bridge about one of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed upon the privie staires at the Tower, from whence the Mayor and his Company returned to the three Cranes in the *Vine-tree*. The day following, Sir *Thomas Parre*, Knight, was created Marquess of *Northampton*, *Edward Seymour* was made Viscount *Beauchampe*, and Earle of *Hartford*, Lord *Thomas Howard* was made Viscount of *Bir-  
don*,



don, Sir Oliver Saint John, Knight, Lord Saint John of Bleis, Sir Henry Carew, Knight, Lord Carew of Hunsden. Assuredly, as this Queene was not prodigall in any thing, so was she most sparing in distribution of honour, whereby shee advanced it to a very high valuation with all men.

Upon the fourteenth day of January in the afternoon, shee passed from the Tower through the City of London to *westminster* most royally furnished, both for her person and for her traine, knowing right well, that in pompous Ceremonies a secret of government doth much consist, for that the people are naturally both taken and held with exten-

our



our shewes. The Nobility  
and Gentlemen were very  
many, and no lesse honoura-  
bly furnished. The rich at-  
tire, the ornaments, the  
beauty of Ladies, did adde  
particular graces to the so-  
lemnity, and held the eyes  
and hearts of men dazelled  
betweene contentment and  
admiration. When she took  
her Coach within the  
Tower, she made a solemn  
thanksgiving to God, that  
he had delivered her no lesse  
mercifully, no lesse mightily  
from her imprisonment in  
that place, than he had deli-  
vered *Daniel* from the Li-  
ons den: That hee had pre-  
served her from those dan-  
gers wherewith shee was  
both environed and over-  
whelmed, to bring her to  
the



the joy and honour of that day. As she passed through the City, nothing was omitted to doe her the highest honours, which the Citizens (who could procure good use both of purses and inventions) were able to performe. It were the part of an idle Orator, to describe the Pageants, the Arkes, and other well devised honours done unto her, the order, the beauty, the majesty of this action, the high joy of some, the silence and reverence of others, the constant contentment of all, their untired patience never spent, either with long expecting (some of them from a good part of the night before) or with unsatiable beholding the Ceremonies of that day.

The



The Queene was not negligent on her part to descend to all pleasing behaviour, which seemed to proceed from a naturall gentlenesse of disposition, and not from any strained desire of popularity or insinuation. Shee gave due respect to all sorts of persons, wherein the quicknesse of her spirit did worke more actively than did her eyes. When the people made the ayre ring with praying to God for her prosperity, shee thanked them with exceeding liveliness both of countenance and voice, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to her selfe, which should not bee for their common good. As shee passed by the Companies of the City,



ty, standing in their Liveries, shee tooke particular knowledge of them, & graced them with many witty formalities of speech. Shee diligently both observed and commended such devices as were presented unto her, and to that end sometimes caused her Coach to stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the mean time fairely entreated the people to be silent. And when shee understood not the meaning of any representation, or could not perfectly heare some speeches that were made, shee caused the same to be declared unto her. When the Recorder of the City presented



presented to her a Purse of  
crimson Sattin, very richly  
and curiously wrought, and  
therein a thousand markes  
in gold, with request that  
she would continue a graci-  
ous Mistresse to the City;  
shee answered, That shee  
was bound in a naturall ob-  
ligation so to doe, not so  
much for their gold, as for  
their good wills: That as  
they had been at great ex-  
pence of treasure that day  
to honour her passage, so  
all the dayes of her life shee  
would bee ready to expend  
not only her treasure, but  
the dearest drops of her  
bloud, to maintaine and in-  
crease their flourishing e-  
state. When shee espyed a  
Pageant at the little Con-  
duct in Cheape, shee de-  
manded



manded (as it was her custome in the rest) what should be represented therein : Answer was made, that Time did there attend for her : Time (said she ?) How is that possible, seeing it is time that hath brought mee hither? Here a Bible in English richly covered was let downe unto her by a filke Lace from a childe that represented Truth. Shee kissed both her hands, with both her hands shee received it, then she kissed it ; afterwards applyed it to her breast : and lastly held it up, thanking the City especially for that gift, and promising to bee a diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her vertuous and religious government,



ment, shee would lift  
 up her hands towards Hea-  
 ven, and desire the people  
 to answer, Amen. When it  
 was told her that an ancient  
 citizen turned his head  
 aside and wept: I warrant  
 she (said shee) it is for joy,  
 and so in very deed it was.  
 She cheerfully received not  
 any rich gifts from persons  
 of worth, but Nosegaies,  
 flowers, Rose-mary bran-  
 ches, and such like Presents,  
 offered unto her from very  
 many persons, insomuch,  
 as it may truly bee said,  
 that there was neither cour-  
 tesie nor cost cast away that  
 lay upon her. It is incredi-  
 ble how often shee caused  
 her Coach to stay, when  
 any made offer to approach  
 unto her, whether to make  
 petition,



petition, or whether to manifest their loving affections.

Hereby the people, whom no Musicke is sweet, as the affability of their Prince, were so strongly stirred to love and to joy, that all men contended how they might most effectually testify the same; some with plausible acclamations, some with sober prayers, and many with silent and true hearted teares, which were then seen to melt from their eyes. And afterwards departing home, they so stretched every thing to the highest straine, that they enflamed the like affection in others. It is certaine, that these high humilities joyned to Justice, are of greater power



power to winne the hearts  
of people than any, than all  
other verrues beside. Allo-  
ther vertues are expedient  
for a Prince, all are advised,  
but these are necessary, these  
are enjoined ; without ma-  
ny other a Prince may  
be thought, but without these up-  
on every occasion he stands  
in danger.

The day following being  
Monday, shee was with all  
the accustomed Ceremonies  
crowned in the Abbey  
Church at *Westminster*, ha-  
ving made demonstration of  
many Princely vertues  
therefore, that all men were  
of opinion that one Crowne  
was not sufficient to adorne  
her.

The Coronation ended,  
shee passed in great state to

Y *Westmin-*



*Westminster* Hall, and there dined.

During these times a Parliament had been summoned to begin at *Westminster* upon the fifteenth day of this moneth of January. And now were certaine Divines returned from beyond the Seas, who in the time of Queene *Mary* forsooke the Realme upon conscience for Religion, and (with no lesse magnanimity despising honours, than others did affect them) remained voluntary exiles till the time of her death. Some distressed with dangers, others assured by security and contempt, none of them wanting abundance of want. These were exceedingly both favoured



and followed by the common people, who having little knowledge to judge of knowledge, did out of affection immoderately extoll their learning and vertue, supposing that for the one they could not erre themselves, and for the other they would not seduce others. Between these and the Prelates of the Realme a publike conference was agreed to bee held concerning points of controversy in Religion. By the Prelates nine persons were appointed; five Bishops and four Doctors, men for the most part mellowed in contemplation, a glorious title to shadow sloath. On the other side were appointed Doctor Scory, Doctor

Y 2      Coxe,



Coxe, Doctor Sands, Master *Whitehead*, Master *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Guest*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Juell*, men esteemed the more worthy of advancement, for that they seemed nothing to desire it; of most of whom somewhat shall be said in particular hereafter. The place was prepared in *Westminster Church*, where a Table was set for the Bishops and their associates upon one side of the Quire, and another Table for the opposites on the other side. At the upper end a Table was placed, whereon the *Queenes Councell* should sit. The residue of the Nobility and others of the

Pa



Parliament were appointed to bee present for satisfaction of their consciences, and for direction of their judgements (as it was said) touching such points of Religion as were to bee treated and concluded in the Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Bishops and their adherents were these:

1. That it is against the word of God, and the custome of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknowne to the people in Common Prayer, and in the administration of the Sacraments.

2. That every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies



remonies and Ecclesiasticall Rites, so the same be to edification.

3. That it cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered up a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead.

Now for the manner of this conference, the Bishops requested that it might be performed in writing. This was easily yeelded unto, for that in disputations by words, besides confusions, besides digressions, which are often occasioned, the truth many times, either by boldnesse of spirit, or by nimblenesse of wit, or by strength



strength, or readinesse, or  
smoothnesse of speech, or  
else by some pleasing ge-  
sture and behaviour, is ei-  
ther altogether over-borne,  
or much obscured. Here-  
upon the Apostle saith,  
*To contend with words is*  
*profitable to nothing but*  
*only to the subversion of*  
*the hearers.* So it was  
ordered, that the Bishops,  
because they were superi-  
ours in dignity, should  
first declare their opinions,  
and the reasons of them  
in writing, and that their  
opposites the same day  
should doe the like: That  
either party should deli-  
ver a copy of their wri-  
ting to the other: That  
if they would make any  
answer thereto against  
Y 4 another



another day, which should bee appointed, they should prepare the same in writing: That all this should be performed in the English tongue.

Upon the first day of their meeting, which was Friday the last of March, in the afternoone, both parties appeared and took their place; but the Bishops brought nothing in writing. This did greatly displease the heare, and moved many to break forth into open shew of discontentment. The Bishops excused themselves that they had mistaken the order, but they were ready to dispute (they said) and for that time came



came to declare their  
minde onely by speech.  
The Lords of the Coun-  
cell were vexed with this  
variation ; yet their wise-  
dome held their thoughts  
so well repressed, that  
the Bishops might rather  
suspect than discern that  
they were offended. At  
the last they were per-  
mitted without any great  
reprooffe to declare by  
speech what they had to  
say touching the first Ar-  
ticle, under promise that  
they should reduce their  
speech into writing, and  
according to the first order  
deliver the same to the o-  
ther party.

Then Doctor *Cole* Deane  
of *Pauls* made a large de-  
Y 5 clARATION



claration concerning the first point ; partly by speech onely, and partly by reading authorities, which hee had written. Hee spent so much speech in commending diuers persons, in insisting upon former generall determinations of the same doubts, and upon other circumstances of winning favour, and so sleightly slipped over the substance of the cause, that many compared him to men unwisely liberall, more forward to give presents, than to pay debts.

When hee had ended, the Lords of the Councell demanded, if any of them had more to say: where



whereto answer was returned, No. Then the other party, after a short prayer, with a protestation to stand to the doctrine of the Catholique Church grounded upon the Scriptures, exhibited a written booke, which was distinctly read by Master *Horne* sometimes Deane of *Dursine*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirme, that they had much more to say to the first Article.

Hereupon it was ordered, that upon Munday then next ensuing both parties should bring in writing what they thought fit touching the second Article and the third, if they



they could, which being openly read, either party should deliver the same writing to the other: That in the meane time they should put that into writing which Doctor *Cole* had spoken that day, and whatsoever they thought fit to adde thereto: That they should send the same forthwith to the other party, and should againe receive of them that which Master *Horne* had read: That at the next meeting a day should bee appointed to exhibite answers touching the first Article. To these orders both sides agreed, and so the assembly dissolved for that time.

Munday being come,  
and



and the place of assembly both with Actors and Auditors fully furnished, the Bishops (for what cause they would not discover, and therefore was it conjectured at the worst) refused either to reade or exhibite any thing in writing touching the second Article, as it had beene appointed: but said that they would reade onely to the first, pretending, that albeit they had spoken to that question the day before, yet they should bee disadvantaged if they should not reade also that which they had conceived in writing. This was granted, upon condition, that when they had done, they should also proceed to



to the second question: But then they refused to begin to any Article, pretending that their adversaries maintained the Affirmative part, and that it was contrary to the order of Schooles, that they who maintained the Negative should begin.

The Lord Keeper did first with words of amity and office fairely entreat, then earnestly, and at the last sharply required them, not to stand upon the order of Schooles, but to performe that order whereunto both they had consented, and were enjoyned. This they absolutely refused with such high behaviour, such vaine surmises



ses and evasions, as they seemed little to regard either the honourable presence, or their owne reputation, or the credit of the cause. The Lords pressed them to declare the reasons of their refusall, lest happely they should bee taken to bee worse than they were. The Bishops affirmed that they did it for many reasons; but not expressing any one, they condemned themselves by their owne silence, either that they had no reasons at all, or that they feared to have them disclosed.

Thus the assembly was dissolved, the expectation frustrated, the purpose



pose disappointed. The  
Lord Keeper at his de-  
parture said, Seeing you  
are not willing that wee  
should heare you, it is  
likely that shortly  
you shall heare  
of us.

**FINIS.**





**LONDON,**  
Printed by *Robert Young,*  
for *John Partridge,*  
1636.

